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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

NATO Nuclear Missile Modernization Criticized *[Bogachev on TASS]* 1
'Similarities' in NATO, Pact Stances Cited *[TASS]* 1
Internal Concerns About Disarmament Issues Noted *[Moscow Radio]* 2
NATO Naval Exercise Criticized as 'Provocative' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Mar]* 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

* UN Human Rights Commission Session Assessed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 11]* 5
UN Ecology Spokesman Welcomes Gorbachev Proposals *[TASS]* 5
WHO AIDS Conference Ends in Moscow 17 Mar *[TASS]* 6
Ukrainian Government Signs Anti-Drug Convention *[TASS]* 6
Delegation Returns From Budapest IPU Conference *[TASS]* 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Bush Speech, Pentagon Actions Viewed *[Moscow TV]* 7
Paper Cited on Possible U.S. Break With Kabul *[TASS]* 7
Baker To Name Envoy to Afghan Opposition *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 8
CIA Report on Economy 'Food for Thought' *[Levin on Moscow Radio]* 8
Senate Confirms Cheney as Secretary of Defense *[TASS]* 8
Article Profiles Cheney *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Mar]* 8
Lukyanov Meets With U.S. Students in Moscow *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 9
Matlock 'Optimistic' on U.S.-USSR Relations *[Moscow International]* 9
U.S. Leaders, Israel's Arens Discuss Uprising *[IZVESTIYA 15 Mar]* 10
U.S. Organizes Campaign Over Pacific Bases *[Kuznetsov in PRAVDA 15 Mar]* 10

China

Li Peng Delivers Work Report at NPC Session 11
Views PRC-USSR 'Normalization' *[TASS]* 11
Welcomes Soviet Afghanistan Pullout *[TASS]* 11
Views Economic Reforms, Inflation *[TASS]* 11
Gorbachev's Coming China Visit Previewed *[Nikolayev on Moscow International]* 12

Northeast Asia

Japan-USSR Consultations Begin 19 Mar 12
Japan To Focus on N. Territories *[Potapov on Moscow International]* 12
Rogachev, Kuriyama Meet *[TASS]* 13
U.S. To Increase Planes, Troops in Japan *[Moscow International]* 13
DPRK Decries U.S. Actions, 'Team Spirit' *[TASS]* 13

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippines' Concepcion, Katushev Discuss Trade *[Moscow International]* 14
Cambodian Opposition 'Turn Toward War' Decried *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 15
Cambodia Progress Since Jakarta Meeting Viewed *[Moscow International]* 15

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Visits Moscow 16
Meets With Shevardnadze *[TASS]* 16
Meets With Petrovskiy *[TASS]* 17
Tehran Radio Reports Visit 17
Khomeyni's Rushdie Edict Called 'Barbaric' *[Bovin on Moscow TV]* 17
Uncertain Whether Jalalabad Can 'Hold Out' *[Moscow TV]* 18
Captured Pakistani Agents Meet Press in Kabul 18
Sent on Spying, Recruiting Missions *[TASS]* 18
Pakistanis Among Mujahidin *[Moscow Radio]* 19
Pakistani Troops Used To Curb Karachi Unrest *[TASS]* 19
Brutents Discusses Israel Ties, Mideast Crisis *[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT 19 Mar]* 19

Sub-Saharan Africa

Soviets Attend London Talks on S. Africa *[London MORNING STAR 17 Mar]* 20
RSA National Party Controversy Viewed 21
Fedorov Comments *[Moscow International]* 21
RSA's Slovo Comments *[Moscow International]* 22

East Europe

Rival Rallies Mark Hungarian Jubilee *[IZVESTIYA 17 Mar]* 22
SFRY's Markovic Congratulated on Election *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 23
Romanian Officials Released From Posts *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 23
Journalists Examine Current Polish Issues *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* 23
Rakowski Greets Ryzhkov From Aircraft *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 26
BCP To Ignore Anonymous Letters, Complaints *[PRAVDA 15 Mar]* 26
Deputy Foreign Minister Receives GDR Envoy *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 26

West Europe

Yakovlev, Delegation Depart on Rome Visit *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 27
Ryzhkov Receives Swedish Finance Minister *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 27
France Recalls Ambassador From Romania *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 27
UK Official Holds Talks on Mideast Settlement *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 27
UK Business Month To Open in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 28
W. Berlin Senate Elected; Agreement Signed *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 28
Delegation Leaves for Belgian Congress *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 29
CPSU Greets Congress *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 29

Latin America & Caribbean

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Central America *[TASS]* 29
Violence Mars Elections in El Salvador *[TASS]* 30
Komplektov Receives Ecuadoran Ambassador *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* 30
CPSU Greets Dominican Communist Congress *[PRAVDA 17 Mar]* 30

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

TV Reports Second Day of CPSU Agrarian Plenum 32
Gorbachev Gives Plenum Concluding Speech *[Moscow TV]* 40
More on Gorbachev Concluding Speech *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 44
CPSU Central Committee Plenum Results Examined 47
News Conference Assesses Plenum *[Moscow TV]* 47
Voting Tally for CPSU Deputies Listed *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 51
All Elected by 'Overwhelming Majority' *[Moscow International]* 54
CPSU Candidates' Mandates Published *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 54

Mandates Further Detailed *[TASS]* 57
Resolution on Mandates Published *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* 57
Plenum Provides Westerners Insight *[Kozyakov on Moscow International]* 58
Elections Process Continues for People's Deputies 58
Komsomol Elects 75 Deputies *[TASS]* 58
Various Other Elections Reported *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Mar]* 58
Rules for Upcoming 26 Mar Elections *[Moscow Radio]* 59
Sakharov Urges New Academy Elections *[AFP]* 59
Military Candidates Face 'Furor' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Mar]* 60
Moscow Campaign Atmosphere Detailed *[TASS]* 62
10,000 Yeltsin Supporters Stage March in Moscow *[AFP]* 62
Gorbachev Attends Consumer Cooperative Congress *[Moscow International]* 62
Other Leaders at Congress Noted *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Media Role in Restructuring, Public Debate Viewed 63
Slanted Debate Questioning Suggested *[Moscow TV]* 63
Apology for 'View' Program Aired *[Moscow TV]* 64
Sociologist Views Reactions to Restructuring *[TASS]* 64
Ordzhonikidze Hijackers Guilty; Sentences Announced *[TASS]* 65
PRAVDA Reports Sentencing *[18 Mar]* 65
Gorbachev Kiev Speech in Restructuring Publication *[Moscow Radio]* 65
Shcherbitskiy Attends Women's Day Meeting 7 Mar *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 8 Mar]* 66
Ukraine Commemorates Birth of T.G. Shevchenko 66
Shcherbitskiy on 'Spiritual Heritage' *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 10 Mar]* 66
Leaders at Monument, Exposition *[RADYANSKA UKRAINA 10 Mar]* 68
Appeal for Unity on Ukrainian Language Published
[LITERATURNA UKRAYINA 2 Mar] 68
Ethnic Russians Protest Latvian Language Bill *[AFP]* 69
Lithuanian Government Registers Sajudis Charter *[TASS]* 69
Views of 14 March Tallinn Meeting Cited *[IZVESTIYA 17 Mar]* 69
Demonstrators Demand Uzbek as Official Language *[AFP]* 71
Earthquake Strikes Kirghiz; No Casualties, Damage *[TASS]* 71
Georgia Avalanche Tragedies Reported *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 71
Armenian Nuclear Plant Shut Down *[TASS]* 71
Urals MD Interethnic Commission's Work Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Mar]* 72

Economic

Draft Management Document Boosts Republics *[Prokhorov on TASS]* 73
Foreign Trade Registration Procedures Cited *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* 73
Slyunkov Chairs Meeting on Socioeconomic Policy *[TASS]* 74

Agricultural

Kolkhoz Representatives Meeting Held in Latvia *[Moscow Radio]* 75
Low Toxicity Defoliant Tested in Uzbekistan *[TASS]* 75
Agricultural Developments for 15-18 Mar *[Moscow Radio]* 75

Scientific

'Mir' Complex Refueled, Experiments Conducted 75
'Progress-40' Docks with 'Mir' *[TASS]* 75
'Mir' Experiments Conducted *[TASS]* 76
'Biological Sputnik' To Be Launched This Year *[TASS]* 76
Non-Explosive Nuclear Reactor Being Developed *[Moscow International]* 76

NATO Nuclear Missile Modernization Criticized

LD1703223589 Moscow TASS in English 2221 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The U.S. Administration is reacting rather peculiarly to the growing opposition in NATO countries to the American plans of modernising tactical nuclear weapons. Washington is prepared to seek ambiguous wording for the solution of this question, which could save the face of the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Norway and other countries of the alliance, while allowing the USA not to budge an inch from the agreed schedule of nuclear rearmament on the European Continent.

In exchange for the agreement by the FRG Government to accommodate on its territory new American missiles, Washington is ready to give any vague promises with regard to the talks on tactical missile reduction, to the deployment of new nuclear systems "further from the GDR border" and to the removal from Western Europe of outdated systems of nuclear artillery.

At the same without waiting for Bonn's consent to deploy modernized "Lances" on West German territory, the Pentagon is speeding up work on a ground-based missile with a range of under 500 kilometers. It seems that the new U.S. Administration proceeds from the fact that Bonn's resistance to the modernisation plans will be reduced to nought with time and the Pentagon will be able to deploy new missiles in Western Germany without any hindrance.

The realisation of Washington's nuclear plans in Western Europe is seriously hampered by the protests of the Western public, which points out that the modernisation will take place at a time when the Soviet Union is eliminating, along with the medium- and short-range missiles, its modern OTR-23 missiles with a range of less than 500 kilometres. Attempts are being made in some capitals of NATO countries to convince public opinion that the modernisation had been allegedly reduced to the problem of creating new "Lances" and to the timetable for the deployment of this system.

In actual fact this is not so. The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN wrote that in addition to "Lances", the USA was developing a new "air-to-surface" nuclear missile for deployment on F-111 fighter bombers. The number of these aircraft in Britain will be increased from 144 to 204. According to the newspaper, by 1993 the fighter bombers based in Britain will be able to deliver to targets more nuclear warheads than all American medium-range missiles in Western Europe at the time of the signing of the INF Treaty, after they are armed with the new missiles.

Work is under way to upgrade the American SRAM missile (air to surface), to train part of the American sea-based cruise missiles on the European theatre of operations and to develop new nuclear warheads for the 203.2 mm guns and 155 mm howitzers.

Under the accompaniment of propagandist statements by U.S. representatives on the need for the Soviet Armed Forces to reorient themselves to defensive goals, the Pentagon is preparing for the modernisation of the short-range nuclear missiles, is building up its potential of "disarming strike", which is viewed by American strategists as a means of ensuring the completion of a nuclear war, if it breaks out, on favourable conditions for the West.

'Similarities' in NATO, Pact Stances Cited

LD1903124189 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence-building measures and security, noted that there are several similarities in the positions of the Warsaw Treaty states and NATO countries.

In an interview with TASS published by the latest issue of the weekly ECHO OF THE PLANET, he said that both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO give priority at the talks to initial cuts of those types of weapons which make up the potential for a surprise attack and large-scale offensive operations. The two sides are in agreement to reduce their armed forces and conventional weapons down to equal levels which would be lower than the lowest levels the sides have at present. The Warsaw Treaty and NATO declare their intent to avoid a futile discussion of figures. There is a concurrence of views on strict international control, including on-site inspection.

It goes without saying, Grinevskiy went on to say, that the NATO proposals need further detailed and attentive examination. However, some doubts arise even after their cursory reading. For instance, it is difficult to understand why the NATO proposals do not mention troops whose reduction is included even in the title of the talks. Reduction of armed forces was the main NATO demand at the Vienna talks in the course of 15 years. It is also unclear, the ambassador said, why jets of strike tactical aviation are missing in the West's proposals, though the Vienna mandate presupposes their inclusion in the talks' programme.

Grinevskiy called attention to the need to restructure armed forces to make them strictly defensive. Due to some reasons, this task is relegated to long-term aims in the NATO proposals, the ambassador noted. The NATO proposals do not mention any terms for reductions in armed forces and armaments, though this is also an important matter, the head of the Soviet delegation pointed out.

Internal Concerns About Disarmament Issues Noted
LD1803155689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 17 Mar 89

[From the "International Situation—Question and Answers" program, presented by Vladimir Pasko]

[Text] I will begin with a letter from Yakov Sergeyevich Nizov, from the town of Rodniki, Ivanovo Oblast. Many people are talking about an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, about the fact that the international climate has become safer and more secure as a result of the treaty on the liquidation of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, Yakov Sergeyevich writes. But, he continues, why encourage the people in vain? There is essentially no real, serious disarmament and there will be none. What sort of disarmament is it if the United States with one hand destroys missiles and with the other creates new ones. And further, our listener remarks that the USSR has taken a decision on unilateral reduction of its armed forces, and the United States and the NATO bloc are creating new types of weapons.

The reproach is clear and, as far as I understand it, it is precisely this that is the essence of both the letter and question and the essence of the anxieties of Yakov Sergeyevich: whether our security is suffering from the reduction in armed forces. Anxiety, in my view, is natural. The security of the country has always been connected above all with the presence of armed forces prepared and supplied as appropriate. We never begrudged the resources for this and are not skimping now. Party documents have repeatedly emphasized that in the future we will continue to do all that is necessary to maintain defense at the proper high level. However, the maintainence of that level should be by way of an improvement in qualitative indicators—in other words, the concept of effectiveness now in full measure relates also to the armed forces. The reductions which we have just announced are a result of the line taken by us on the rational use of human and material resources. A significant proportion of the people who are now leaving the Armed Forces will go into the national economy. I would like to mention something else as well. The reduction which we are implementing is directly connected to shifting the emphasis in the direction of political resources for providing security.

The events of the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties quite clearly showed that stressing military resources—here at least has a limit. The appearance of our SS-20 missiles brought in its train the deployment of new U.S. Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe. Our security did not increase as a result of this, as it did not increase for West Europe, and the United States either, although our SS-20s would not reach its territory. This matter, as you see, is not sufficiently well acknowledged now by those in the West who are asking about the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. You are quite right, Yakov Sergeyevich, when you write that it is impossible to achieve disarmament by destroying missiles with one hand while creating new ones with the other. We have repeatedly warned that the so-called modernization might bloc the disarmament process which has begun and might lead to aggravation of East-West relations.

It must be said that many politcians see the danger of such a development. During a recent trip to Europe by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, it became clear that the governments of 8 of 16 NATO countries are trying to at least delay making a final decision on modernization. It is of course impossible not to take into account the opposition to the positive improvements which have appeared in the areas of disarmament. But, all the same, I would not exclude the possibility of new breakthroughs on this course. Really, in actuality, today we only have the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. But, we also have the accord in principle with the United States on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. We have progress in the drawing up of an international convention on the full and universal prohibition of chemical weapons; we have, finally, negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. And all this within just over 2 years. To speak about this is not just being encouraging; but to declare that there cannot be any serious achievements here, does not seem to me to be true either.

A question from Griegoriy Sergeyevich Latysh from the village of Korsakovo, Orel Oblast, has to a certain extent something in common with the letter from Comrade Nizov. He asks whether we are not beginning the liquidation of chemical weapons prematurely, referring to the decision announced by us to do this without waiting for the conclusion of the international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. I will cite the evaluation of our actions given by Comrade Shevardnadze in Vienna at the meeting of foreign ministers from 33 European states and also from the United States and Canada. The actions undertaken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, he said, are in the first place evidence of the new approach to the estimation of the probability and the degree of the military threat from the West. Our decision to begin the liquidation of chemical weapons has the aim of stimulating the talks taking place in Geneva on the drafting of a corresponding international convention. How are things going with this?

At a press conference on 7 March, Pierre Morel the chairman of the Special Committee on Chemical Weapons of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the French representative, reported that the drafting of the convention had entered a decisive stage. An overwhelming majority of the participants in the talks were guided by the necessity to do their utmost to intensify the work. The carrying out of national experimental inspections, which have already been implemented by five countries, has become an important contribution to this process. Morel noted as a positive fact the growing activeness in

the work for a convention of the nonaligned countries. In the words of the chairman of the special committee, although the participants in the conference will have to return again to some clauses of the text upon which agreement has already been reached, as they are closely interlinked, the work is going quite efficiently.

Two other reports which have been noteworthy in the past few days have a bearing on Morel's statement. The United States has announced its intention to withdraw its chemical weapons from the territory of the FRG earlier than planned and also that in accordance with a congressional decision the United States will not deploy binary weapons in Europe. These decisions can only be welcomed. But, there is still one missing: stopping the production of binary weapons. Let us recall that at one time the U.S. Congress gave permission for the production of binary weapons on the condition that they would be stationed in Europe. The Americans did not want to keep them in their own country.

From this the question arises, does the present U.S. decision on the non-deployment of binary weapons in Europe mean ending their production? The United States has not given a clear answer. This gives rise to suspicions that it has decided to adopt a different stance at the Geneva conference. Noteworthy in this connection is the unexpected call by Chancellor Kohl for the USSR to withdraw its chemical weapons from the GDR. We have frequently stated that we have never kept chemical weapons outside our territory and we do not keep any there now, either. Having expressed surprise at the chancellor's statement, the USSR Foreign Ministry representative noted that if the FRG has any suspicions the Soviet side proposes that the interested states should elaborate, on the basis of equality and reciprocity, a procedure which one could use to verify the presence or absence of Soviet or U.S. chemical weapons outside the national territories of the USSR and the United States, including central Europe.

The Geneva conference, judging by everything, is still facing many problems. We are ready to resolve them. Many observers feel the conference will end with the signing of a convention this year. Our initiatives aimed at stimulating the work of the conference are not in vain.

And here is another letter connected with disarmament problems. Comrade Matveyev Petrozavodsk asks why the NATO countries are refusing to take part in talks on tactical nuclear weapons. If we have more short-range missiles, as NATO asserts, they should have an interest in holding talks, our listener reasonably notes. The basis of NATO's position is the concept according to which the existence of nuclear weapons strengthens the West's security. In the opinion of NATO theoreticians, while there are nuclear weapons in Western Europe no one will risk attacking it. From this stems the rejection of the so-called third zero option—the elimination of short-range missiles.

As is known, our position on this question is different. We feel that nuclear weapons do not guarantee peace. Moreover, they create a danger. The very existence of nuclear weapons stimulates distrust, attempts to mislead the other side, and secretiveness. As is known, the USSR right from the start came out in favor of including tactical nuclear weapons in the mandate of the talks which have begun in Vienna on reducing armed forces and weapons in Europe. The NATO countries categorically objected to this. As a result, the Vienna talks encompass only conventional forces and weapons. Nonetheless, it was possible to include in the list of weapons to be discussed the so-called dual-purpose weapons—weapons capable of carrying both conventional and nuclear warheads. Nuclear warheads for these weapons, just like short-range missiles, as yet remain outside the negotiating process. But this position cannot last long. The point is that if nuclear weapons are kept, it is impossible to make the military formations of the two alliances exclusively defensive in character.

As Comrade Shevardnadze noted in Vienna, the arms race must not be stopped selectively. It is naive to think that one thing exists without connection to others. The fact of the linkage is acknowledged in the West. Touching on our proposal to start parallel to the talks on the reduction of conventional forces, talks on the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher announced in one of his recent interviews that it is, of course, essential to include in negotiations all types of nuclear weapons. I consider it quite essential that NATO's overall concept should provide for a mandate for conducting negotiations on short-range nuclear missiles. We will insist that a mandate is provided for conducting negotiations on short-range missiles.

The issue of a mandate about which Genscher spoke will, to all appearances, be discussed in May at a special session of the NATO Council. According to the magazine DER SPIEGEL, Genscher's position is shared by most NATO members. According to DER SPIEGEL only four countries, including the United States and England, have spoken out in favor of postponing talks on tactical nuclear weapons until the completion of the negotiations on conventional forces. The others, like the FRG, want to start these talks as soon as possible. As far as we are concerned, our position is well-known; we are prepared to start them at any time.

NATO Naval Exercise Criticized as 'Provocative'

PM2003105989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Single Edition p 5

[Report by Captain Second Class V. Vilenkov under the rubric "Militarist Rehearsals": "'North Star-89'"]

[Text] As has been reported, the NATO leadership has been conducting the "North Star-89" naval exercise in the North Atlantic. Naval forces from the United States, the FRG, and Canada are participating in it. The United

States is represented by an attack carrier grouping headed by the aircraft carrier "America" and including the guided missile cruiser "Yorktown," the guided missile destroyer "Dahlgren," the destroyer "Hayler," the frigates "Robert G. Bradley" and "Ainsworth," and the command ship "Mount Whitney." "Orion" shore-based patrol aircraft will be participating in the exercises as well as carrier-based aircraft.

"North Star-89" is part of a series of NATO rehearsals, including "Wintex-Simex-89," "Cold Winter-89," and "Flotex-89." But obviously it does not fit into the political background that is being created in Europe by the talks that have started in Vienna on conventional armed forces and confidence-building measures. In this connection the concern and alarm expressed by West European public circles, who detect a provocative element in the exercises, are entirely justified.

What is the content of this latest militarist "spectacle?" NATO makes no particular secret of it. The objective is to check out the practicability of existing plans for collaboration between national naval groupings during joint operations. So in this case it is quite right to put the word "spectacle" in quotemarks because the plans are very serious. The scenario for the maneuvers presupposes gaining supremacy at sea and superiority in the air, attacking enemy shore facilities, and defending lines of communication in order to ensure uninterrupted transportation of reinforcements to Europe and support for ground forces in the European theater.

The "use of nuclear weapons" is not ruled out either. And it must be said that herein lies the biggest threat to Europe. In fact, a vast nuclear potential is concentrated in U.S. naval forces active in northern latitudes of the Atlantic and it is bound to complicate the situation in the region.

That is why the the Soviet leadership's proposal that confidence-building measures should cover not only Europe but also adjoining seas and airspace and that navies' military activities should be reduced is so timely and important. A sober approach to this proposal by the West would be a help in taking another step on the path toward all-European security.

*** UN Human Rights Commission Session Assessed**
WA18070560 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by M. Maksimov (Geneva): "Rights and Responsibilities"]

[Text] How frequently we have pronounced these words putting responsibilities in first place. And how unexpected was the statement concerning this from the head of the Soviet delegation to the 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission, Feliks Stanevsky, who noted that the logic of our current development defines responsibilities as the natural duty of each person to consider the rights of others. To say now that there are, of course, rights, but there are also responsibilities means to introduce confusion into a clearcut issue. The major requirement for liberating man is to protect his rights.

Representatives of the countries that are members of the commission, dozens of observers, and more than 100 nongovernmental organizations who gathered in the Geneva Palace of Nations discussed various variants of how to completely eliminate violations of human rights. In general, not a single country has come close to the Declaration of Human Rights, whose 40th anniversary was recently celebrated by the world community. But, the current session established something else. The time of propaganda battles has come to an end, and even in such a traditionally confrontational forum as this it is possible to conduct a constructive and meaningful discussion. Businesslike and useful decisions were adopted by more than 70 representatives and, what is more important, 50 of them were adopted by consensus, that is, without voting.

At the meetings I frequently thought about what they could give to a real individual and how to explain to him his own personal interest in the success of this commission which meets annually.

"Well, how," noted F. Stanevsky with surprise, "could a real individual not be interested in knowing at what age his son might go into battle—at 15, as is the case in certain countries, or at 18.... And this question is being resolved within the framework of the convention for protection of the rights of children. Or take the convention concerning the independence of justice. Does this affect the real individual? And how! Or discuss the optional protocol to the international pact concerning civil and political rights. It insures the right of each person to address the UN committee of experts with complaints against the state. Does this not pertain to the real individual?!"

Our country looked pretty good at this session. There was not even any mention of such a traditional topic as...exit and entry. People here were very interested in the speech by A. Adamishin, the USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who announced that the Soviet Union in an ukaze adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet recognized the binding jurisdiction of the International Court for interpreting and applying important international conventions in the area of human rights. This announcement evoked a positive reaction in the hall. As did the preceding one: "We know that we have many problems in the area of human rights. But the fact that they are being solved one after another gives us confidence. And if one takes the general tendency, one can say without stretching the truth at all that the state of affairs in this area is clearly on the upswing."

But it would be stretching things to depict the course of events in Geneva only in rosy terms. The Cuban question attracted general attention just as it did last year. The special commission that was visiting the island on invitation from the Cuban Government prepared a fairly objective report which elicited lively discussion. As a result, there appeared two drafts of a resolution—the Latin American and the U.S. The former was adopted and many West European countries voted for it.

The most unpleasant aspect of the work of the session was the discussion of the Hungarian national minority in Romania. Our delegation did everything possible to prevent a resolution on this issue. Alas, the only thing we managed to do was not participate in the voting (this possibility exists in the procedure of the meetings). This is little consolation, of course, but it causes us to think and search for other ways to resolve disputed issues that arise among socialist countries. Perhaps there would be some point in creating within the framework of the Warsaw Pact some kind of arbitration board for regulating disputes like the International Court in Strassburg?

But still the session that just ended painted a picture of significant coming together of the positions of various countries in the sphere of human rights. While previously we always relied on the socioeconomic aspect, and the Western countries—on the civil-political, now, especially after the speech by M. S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly, we have quite specifically come out in defense of human rights throughout the entire spectrum of international commitments. Our opponents have also taken a step in our direction by admitting that they consider the pacts on social, economic, and cultural human rights to be extremely important and significant.

UN Ecology Spokesman Welcomes Gorbachev Proposals
LD1703102689 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—"More than 86 thousand ecological problems have been solved in different parts of the world during the past fourteen years thanks to trustworthy information promptly received by experts", a TASS correspondent was told by William Mansfield, deputy executive director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). He is taking part in the world conference of exchanges of environmental information in 1990, currently under way here.

This is the task of the UNEP International Information System—Infoterra—embracing 136 countries, the total population of which accounts for 99 per cent of all mankind.

William Mansfield stressed information's growing role in solving ecological problems, arising from the pollution of the biosphere, shrinking of forested areas, desertification, exhaustion of the ozone layer due to massive use of chemical substances, growth of the earth's population. He pointed to the inter-connection of education and environment protection, stressing that a quarter of the UNEP 30-million budget was allocated for special educational programmes. The USSR is taking an active part in one of them—in the training of ecological experts.

"I was greatly impressed by the Soviet Union's steps to resolve domestic ecological problems, as well as many global ones, too," William Mansfield said. He welcomed the constructive proposals to improve the world ecological situation advanced more than once by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

WHO AIDS Conference Ends in Moscow 17 Mar

LD1803000189 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Moscow March 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya:

The full danger of the HIV virus, which causes Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), is likely to become obvious in the 1990s and the start of the 21st century. The disease will remain with people for at least one hundred years, a Swedish authority on AIDS told newsmen on Friday.

Professor Lars Olaf Kallings, chairman of the European Conference on AIDS Prevention and Control, sponsored by the World Health Organisation (WHO), was speaking at a news conference in Moscow.

The conference, attended by more than 150 scientists, clinicians and health officials from 29 countries, was closed here today.

142,000 AIDS cases have been registered by now in 145 countries. Experts believe that the real figure is nearly thrice as high. [passage omitted]

Asked by journalists about the current situation in the Soviet Union, Soviet Deputy Health Minister Aleksandr Kondrusev said that 176 Soviet citizens infected with the HIV virus were registered as of February 27, 1989.

Four of the number developed full-blown AIDS, three of them already died, Kondrusev said.

On the situation in Elista, Kalmykiya, were 41 children and eight mothers contracted AIDS, he remarked that this was the result of the medical personnel's unconscientious attitude.

"All the children are alive and are under thorough medical observation," Kondrusev said. "Soviet epidemiologists have tested more than 20,000 people. The effort will be continued until we are sure that the focus has been fully localised."

Ukrainian Government Signs Anti-Drug Convention

LD1703232989 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Excerpt] New York March 17 TASS—The international convention against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances was signed, on behalf of the Ukrainian Government, by Ukrainian permanent representative at the United Nations, Gennadiy Udovenko. The convention was originally passed at the international conference, held in Austria's capital last November-December. [passage omitted]

Delegation Returns From Budapest IPU Conference

LD2003084789 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—A delegation of Soviet Parliamentary Group led by the group's deputy chairman Aleksey Yeliseyev left Budapest for Moscow on Monday. It had taken part in the 81st conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the sessions of its bodies.

At the airport, the delegation was met by the Soviet Parliamentary Group's chairman Yuriy Khristoradnov and other officials.

United States & Canada

Bush Speech, Pentagon Actions Viewed

LD1703215989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1540 GMT 17 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Hello, comrades! However varied the day's events, observers always pay attention to reports on problems in disarmament and strengthening security, as well as foreign policy statements by state leaders, especially if they concern the United States.

President George Bush has made precisely such a statement. In a speech George Bush stated that when a person becomes president, worldwide peace should be one of his main concerns. What does the President intend to do in order to strengthen it?

We are in the process of analysis, Bush said. I have met Mr Gorbachev several times. I am convinced that I can tell my 11 grandchildren that there is a real opportunity to make the world—this year, in the year 2000, and beyond—safer.

Let me quote a second excerpt: In order to prepare for the future, the U.S. President stressed in this same speech in Houston, we must draw up a national security strategy that will ensure the defense of our freedom and give us the necessary strength if there is a change in the international situation. As the U.S. President put it: We must hurry.

In Bush's view, haste is required so as not to give the Soviet leader the chance to take the lead, particularly in Europe, following his UN speech.

Reports coming in today confirm that the United States is indeed hurrying: The Pentagon is speeding up the development of a new missile with a nuclear warhead of the "surface-to-air" class to be fitted to F-111 fighter bombers. These military aircraft are based in Great Britain. In the Pentagon's view, this new missile will compensate for the nuclear missiles being destroyed in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty. The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN writes that the aircraft based in Britain—there are now 44 of them and soon there will be over 200, with at least 2 new missiles each—will be able to deliver more nuclear warheads than all the intermediate-range nuclear missiles deployed in Western Europe at the time the treaty on their destruction was signed.

All this is taking place at a time when talks have begun in Vienna on conventional armed forces and on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. As is known, the United States is also taking part in these talks. Both military-political blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—must have armies for the purpose of defense alone. Such is the aim of the Vienna talks.

SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has published an article by Egon Bahr, the leading Social Democratic Party expert on disarmament. The issue of air forces, which are also offensive weapons, must be included in the talks as early as possible, Bahr writes. Unfortunately the West does not have a concept on this problem as it does on other important components of the strategy on security and arms control.

Security that is based on building up arms cannot be reliable. This idea was voiced once again by Hungarian Council of Ministers Chairman Miklos Nemeth at the international conference "Cooperation Between East and West in the Common European Home," which has opened in Budapest.

It is necessary to proceed based on considerations of sufficient security founded on arms reduction. It is precisely in this way that the Soviet Union and other East European countries, including Hungary, are acting. They are making unilateral armed forces and arms reductions.

Paper Cited on Possible U.S. Break With Kabul

LD1903114289 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

The U.S. Administration, which several weeks ago closed the American Embassy in Kabul, is considering a formal break in relations with the Republic of Afghanistan, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported.

The newspaper quoted unidentified senior administration officials as saying that this matter is still under discussion within the State Department but, they added, Secretary of State James Baker III "has made no decision".

Judging by the tone of the article, a break in relations with Kabul is only a matter of time.

The newspaper cites a "growing sentiment" within the administration that "the time has come to formally cut diplomatic ties with the Najibullah government in Kabul".

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, at congressional hearings last week, said that "we ought to break relations", adding, however, that he was not necessarily expressing the views of the administration.

The news about Washington's readiness to break ties with Kabul leaked into the press simultaneously with reports that the State Department is actively considering naming a "special envoy", who will have the rank of ambassador, to Afghan rebels.

THE NEW YORK TIMES said "the two complementary diplomatic gestures would represent a concrete demonstration of support for the rebels".

At the same time it said that they would not "go so far as formal recognition of the interim government established in Pakistan by the rebels".

Baker To Name Envoy to Afghan Opposition

PM2003114989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Afghanistan: Those Who Are Opposed to a Settlement"]

[Text] Washington, 18 Mar—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker intends to apppoint a special envoy to the camp of the irreconcilable Afghan opposition. This was reported today by the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST, citing sources in Congress and in diplomatic circles.

"State Department personnel recommended that Baker take this step, and Baker and his closest aides approved the idea," the paper writes. "The dispatch of a special envoy, according to officials, would not imply U.S. recognition of the transitional government proclaimed by the mujahidin." The envoy's brief would include, in particular, responsibility for ensuring that U.S. aid gets "directly to the transitional government of the mujahidin."

CIA Report on Economy 'Food for Thought'

LD1703220389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] A NATO report on problems of the USSR's economic development has been circulated in Brussels. The report, based on calculations made by the CIA, asserts that the Soviet Union will not succeed in overcoming its economic lagging behind the West before the end of the century, even if reforms now being carried out by the Soviet leadership are successful. With a Mayak commentary, Viktor Levin is at the microphone.

[Levin] I don't want to say that the forecast should be taken as the whole truth, but in my view it would be useful to treat it seriously. As a rule specialists of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency know their business and give preference to scientific conclusions over propagandist aims. One can, of course, cite considerable data testifying to the fact that the Soviet Union possesses solid scientific and technological potential, but the fact remains that this potential has clearly been insufficiently utilized until now. Can we alter matters in such a way that scientific and technological achievements are implemented without delay? Indisputably, we can, but the question of how to do this, today at least, remains to a significant degree an open one.

It seems to me that an unprejudiced analysis of the CIA specialists' report ought to stimulate a critical review of the state of our economic affairs. We should not refute the report's conclusions, even if we want to very much, but should treat them as food for thought. This will be significantly more beneficial than would a stern rebuke to the compilers of the report.

As far as the forecast is concerned, I would naturally not want to agree with it. It is not long until the end of this century, and if we use the time wisely the result can be different than that predicted by the CIA. Everything depends on us ourselves, on how we work, and on how we implement economic reform. The principle line mapped out by the party leaves no doubts, but until now the implementation of plans leaves much to be desired. I think that it is on this—on delays, on shortcomings in the implementation of economic reform—that the specialists of the U.S. intelligence agency base their conclusions. However, it would be wrong to consider these delays and shortcomings as fatal phenomena. Our society is ready for bold, cardinal decisions. The new approaches to agrarian policy defined at the recently ended plenum of the CPSU Central Committee confirm the resolve to advance consistently. If success depends on us ourselves, I think the report's conclusion that the Soviet Union will not succeed in overcoming economic lagging behind the West by the end of the century can be put to shame. I'll repeat it once again: This depends only on us ourselves.

Senate Confirms Cheney as Secretary of Defense

LD1703211689 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 17 TASS—Full Senate of U.S. Congress today endorsed the candidature of Richard Cheney for the post of U.S. secretary of defense.

Ninety-two senators attending the session voted for confirming Cheney's nomination. Not a single vote was cast against confirmation.

Article Profiles Cheney

PM2003142589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Pakhomov profile of U.S. Defense Secretary-designate Cheney under the rubric "Who's Who": "R. Cheney—New Chief of the Pentagon?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted citing biographical details] In terms of his views, U.S. Defense Secretary-designate Richard Cheney is a conservative Republican, or as one of his friends put it, "the thinking man's hawk." Cheney firmly believes that the ties established by the "founding fathers" between the executive and the legislature are unshakable and that they must not be taken lightly or infringed upon, especially if it is a question of military actions.

In Washington political circles Cheney is regarded as a specialist on strategic issues and intelligence questions. According to his own words, he has taken an interest in defense issues for many years and has a certain amount of experience in this field.

"There are questions, of course, which I will have to study in order to gain a complete understanding," Cheney said. "However, at the same time I feel that I have a good grasp of many other problems pertaining to the work of the Department of Defense and national security as a whole." According to the NATIONAL JOURNAL, he voted in the House of Representatives against ending the MX ICBM program, against a ban on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons, and for continued aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

As for Cheney's views on relations with the USSR, THE WASHINGTON POST claims that "they are identical with the cautious approach advocated by Bush, Scowcroft, and Baker." Cheney has visited the Soviet Union twice—in July 1983 and April 1987—as a member of congressional delegations. After his last trip he described himself as a "great skeptic" in respect to the USSR. However, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote at the time that he declared the conclusion of the agreement on intermediate-range missiles with the Soviet Union "a positive step in the solution of a problem that does not have a direct beraing on the security of America itself."

What problems will Cheney come up against if he is confirmed in the post of defense secretary? Above all, the problem of the Pentagon budget, which is to be cut by $6 billion in the coming fiscal year. It will be Cheney who will have to decide which arms purchases will have to be scrapped, postponed, or cut. Furthermore, in April the results of a survey of all existing and planned strategic arms—MX missiles, the B-2 "Stealth" bomber, and SDI—are to be summed up. "The President expects the Pentagon to advise him," the NBC television network has stressed, "what new strategic missiles are to be built, to what extent the 'Star Wars' program is to be implemented, and how the question of Europe and the U.S. forces and arms stationed there is to be resolved."

...Closing his 10 March news conference, President Bush expressed confidence that the U.S. Senate would confirm Cheney's appointment "very quickly." The discussion of his candidacy "will go smoothly, since it is Dick Cheney," he said.

No sooner had the news of Cheney's nomination spread in Washington than Senators from both parties began to assure everyone with one voice that an unimpeded confirmation was in store for him. These assurances, it soon emerged, were well-founded. A few days ago the U.S. Congress Senate Armed Services Committee expressed unanimous support for the appointment of Richard Cheney, Republican congressman from Wyoming, as U.S. secretary of defense, and recommended that the complete Senate confirm his candidacy.

Lukyanov Meets With U.S. Students in Moscow

PM2003141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting With U.S. Schoolchildren"]

[Text] Acquainting young people with people's diplomacy is a gratifying sign of our times, in which the new political thinking is exercising a wider and wider influence on people's minds on all continents.

This idea rang out loud and clear on 18 March at a meeting at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with a group of senior U.S. high school students and their Soviet contemporaries. The visitors are in our country in accordance with a student exchange agreement.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, drew the young Americans' attention to the fact that the hall in which they were standing was the venue for USSR Supreme Soviet organs' session and the place where foreign countries' parliamentary delegations are received. On more than one occasion, within these walls, representatives of the Soviet Union's supreme organ of state power have met with U.S. senators and congressmen. The present meeting, A.I. Lukyanov said, can definitely be seen as an illustration of the two states' desire to expand contacts at various levels and enrich them with new content in the interests of improving the world situation in general.

The schoolchildren received answers to numerous questions.

Gratitude was expressed on behalf of the visitors for the interesting and useful program for their stay amd the hospitality they had received in the Soviet Union, and a desire to strengthen the friendly relations between the U.S. and Soviet peoples was expressed.

G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, and J. Matlock, USSR ambassador to the USSR, participated in the meeting.

Matlock 'Optimistic' on U.S.-USSR Relations

LD1903054389 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] The American ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr Jack Matlock, has said he is being optimistic about the prospects of Soviet-American relations.

In a speech to the students of the Moscow Foreign Relations Institute he said there was a real chance for substantial arms cuts. This, he said, would help the two countries to channel the released resources for resolving internal problems and giving greater priority to environmental protection and combating drug addiction.

Mr Matlock voiced confidence that the coming visit to Moscow by the State Secretary Mr James Baker in May would help towards a thorough review of bilateral relations to shape their main trends in the years to come.

U.S. Leaders, Israel's Arens Discuss Uprising

PM1603103789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "No Changes. U.S.-Israeli Talks Did Not Bring Tangible Results"]

[Text] Washington—The situation in the occupied Arab territories in the grip of the uprising has been discussed during talks between Israeli Foreign Minister M. Arens and U.S. leaders. President G. Bush and Secretary of State J. Baker received the Israeli minister, who is on a visit to the United States.

Administration officials are saying very little about the content of the talks. The main aim of Arens' visit, they reported, is to prepare for the visit to the United States by Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir. But the White House was also forced to react to the events in the occupied territories. It was stated to Arens in Washington that both sides in the conflict must find ways to "reduce the tension." Tel Aviv should permit the Palestinian schools closed by the Israeli forces to resume work, and the Palestinians should stop their actions against the occupation. The question of the illegal nature of the occupation itself and of the harshness of the repressive actions by the Israeli Army against the Palestinian population was not raised. "I was not asked about any changes," Arens stated to reporters after the talks.

Meanwhile, U.S. public opinion is unambiguously expressing its negative attitude toward the Israeli authorities' actions. According to data from a CBS-TV public opinion poll, 52 percent of Americans disapprove of Israel's policy. Several U.S. Jewish organizations which in the past supported Israel unconditionally have recently criticized Tel Aviv's course.

According to press reports, PLO spokesman Nabil Sha'th, who took part in the New York meeting with members of the Israeli Knesset who support a peaceful settlement in the Near East, criticized the White House position. "This is the only instance in the world where it is suggested to a people under occupation that they refrain from expressing their attitude toward it," he stated.

U.S. Organizes Campaign Over Pacific Bases

PM1603164289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Leonid Kuznetsov "Viewpoint" article: "Maneuvers Over Bases"]

[Text] One is sometimes struck by the uniformity and somehow sinister monotony of the policy of American generals. Take this occasion, for instance. First the Pentagon organized a propaganda campaign, through the press, which could be code-named "Concern": Washington is concerned, you see, about the fate of its giants in the Philippines, such as Clark Field (Air Force) Base and Subic Bay (Navy).

No, no, the problem is not that they are a threat to peace. It seems that the bases are being threatened: Who knows, the Filipinos may demand their elimination if the U.S.-Philippine agreement on the bases is not extended on its expiry in 1991. After intensive propaganda preparation, Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke. He stated that the possibility of transferring the bases from the Philippines either to the Palau islands, Guam, or islands forming part of Micronesia is being seriously considered.

It should, however, be recalled that even in their worst nightmares the American military cannot see the Philippines without bases. Subic Bay and Clark Field, with their plants, shipyards, workshops, dumps, tennis courts, movie theaters, newspapers, radio stations, cottages for officers' families, and barracks designed to take 100,000 soldiers a year, are a greater asset for the U.S. military-industrial complex than any other strong points abroad, and not only from the military viewpoint. These bases are the foundation of political, propaganda, and economic pressure on the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Many politicians in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines have told me repeatedly that American capital feels comfortable in the Asia-Pacific region, behaves brazenly, and successfully crowds out competitors largely because it can sense the support of the enormous military force stationed in the Philippines.

True, Washington keeps quiet about its own benefits from the bases, and emphasizes mainly that U.S. military facilities exist for the benefit of the Filipinos and their neighbors. In this context, talking about leaving looks more like blackmail. It is no secret that many people in the Philippines have an interest in the continuing American military presence. They are members of the haute bourgeoisie connected with American, Japanese, and West European capital, as well as the bureaucracy who live on sops from across the ocean, dealers in dubious or, more precisely, dirty business who make money out of "entertaining" American soldiers and seamen, politicians who are afraid of the emergence of left-wing forces, and opponents of agrarian reform. In Washington's opinion they are acting timidly and insufficiently aggressively with regard to left-wing and peace-loving forces. It is in order to shake them up and galvanize them into action that they start this "frightening talk" about leaving.

At the same time the United States seeks to emphasize in every way that the Pacific is still an "American lake" and it is free to do whatever it likes there—including moving its bases to wherever it thinks fit. That was the reason for the wide publicity for the recent tour of Pacific countries by a group of high-ranking U.S. Navy officials to study

the question of using "certain islands" as an alternative. But the hope that the islanders, "charmed" by the Pentagon's attention, would await their fate dispassionately proved unjustified.

The policy of the American military-industrial complex is at variance not only with the interests of the Asian and Pacific peoples. After all, assuming that Washington will embark on the creation of additional bases without closing Clark and Subic, additional mighty arms arsenals will thus be created—packed, moreover, with weapons of mass destruction. Against the background of the intensifying trends toward European disarmament, the arms buildup in Asia prompts particular anxiety.

But perhaps that is the intention? And the Pentagon hopes to make up for its losses in the "European theater" at the expense of other regions? The actions of the U.S. military-industrial complex in the Pacific region cannot but cause serious concern to mankind.

China

Li Peng Delivers Work Report at NPC Session

Views PRC-USSR 'Normalization'

LD2003103389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 20 Mar 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Beijing, 20 Mar TASS—TASS correspondent Gennadiy Krivosheyev reports: "The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is an important matter that attracts universal attention, said Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee and premier of the PRC State Council. He stated this while making a report today on the government's work at the second session of the seventh convocation of the National People's Congress, which opened today.

"Following the normalization of Chinese-Soviet state relations," he went on, "both sides will develop good neighborly relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This corresponds to the interests not only of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, but also favors peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world without impinging upon the interests of any third country, stressed Li Peng.

Welcomes Soviet Afghanistan Pullout

LD2003131689 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Beijing March 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Marat Abulkhatin:

The completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan deserves welcome, Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Community Party Central Committee and premier of China's Council of State, said at the second session of the Seventh National People's Congress, which opened here today.

Delivering a report on the Chinese Government's activities, he voiced hope that "the political forces of Afghanistan through consultations will form a broad-based coalition government as soon as possible and thereby enable the [words indistinct] calmly to return home and the entire people to live a peaceful life."

The stablisation of the internal situation in Afghanistan will promote the cause of peace and development in South Asia, Li Peng emphasised.

Views Economic Reforms, Inflation

LD2003142689 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Beijing March 20 TASS—TASS Correspondent Vyacheslav Tomilin.

The reforms, now under way in China, will centre on the revitalisation of the economic situation and streamlining of the economic order this and the next year, Li Peng, premier of the Chinese State Council, told a session of the National People's Congress here.

Li Peng noted in his report on the work of the government that the year 1988, the 10th year of the reform and the policy for expanding relations with the outside world, witnessed the continued growth in the Chinese national economy. The gross national product rose by 11.2 percent and national income by 11.4 percent. New successes were registered in the erection of leading projects of capital construction.

The system of contractual responsibilities of enterprises was gradually improving with the further progress of the reform of the economic structure, the speaker noted. A new impetus was given to commodity and money markets as well as markets of technical achievements, services and hard currency regulation. Changes were being made in the systems of planning, investment, material supplies and foreign trade. Last year the volume of export-import operations topped 100 billion dollars, that is 24.4 percent over the previous year's level.

Along with this, Li Peng went on to say, China ran into several difficulties, the most acute of which are considerable inflation and an exorbitant rise in prices for goods. The index of retail prices was up 18.5 percent on the year 1987. Real living standards of a considerable part of urban population slumped. According to the premier, this evokes concern of the entire society, worries people much and has a negative influence on social stability, weaking belief of people in the reform. If resolute measures are not taken to arrest inflation which was generated by the "overheating" of the economy and the spread of investment and consumer demand, it will

be impossible not only to ensure stability and development of the economy but to deepen the reform in various spheres, the report points out.

Gorbachev's Coming China Visit Previewed

OW1603095189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Nikolayev commentary: "A Bridge Leading to the Future"]

[Text] Only a little over 2 months remain before Soviet leader Gorbachev arrives in Beijing to pay a formal visit to China. Only a few years ago both sides showed the [word indistinct] to hold a Sino-Soviet summit. Along with the development of Sino-Soviet relations, the need for such a summit has become more and more urgent. Finally, thanks to the efforts of both sides, the preparations for this summit have been completed. In December 1988 and January 1989, the Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers exchanged visits. Today when people not only in the Soviet Union and China, but also in many other countries repeatedly ask what the relations between the two socialist powers, the Soviet Union and China, will be, it is only fitting to recall the main substance of the diplomatic contacts between the Soviet Union and China in the past few months.

First, what we are talking about here is the complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. This fact itself clearly shows that relations are escalating to a new stage. When we talk about the two big powers' criterion, we obviously refer to a very high criterion.

Next, whether in the Soviet Union or China, certain categories in our former experience will no longer be used to ponder questions. We remember our experience only as a warning for the future. Both sides intend to look ahead and advance. In other words, we need to build new relations.

We should also do so in light of the process of reform and modernization under way in both countries. Peaceful coexistence in the political sphere and equality and mutual benefit in the sphere of economic cooperation will be solid foundations for Sino-Soviet relations. Both Moscow and Beijing believe that such relations will certainly bring great advantages to the peoples of the two countries and the universal cause of peace and security.

Both Sino-Soviet talks and the meetings for the exchange of ideas held in Moscow and Beijing last December and February respectively showed that the two sides regard the complete normalization of relations as a component part of establishing new, international relations. When we compare the Soviet Union's viewpoints on world affairs with China's, we cannot but point out: Here the Soviet Union and China have numerous things in common. This means that the Soviet Union and China, with their own points of view and comments, can take a coordinated and concerted attitude to many matters from military detente to economic issues. In addition, whether in the Soviet Union or China, people clearly understand that more efforts must be made to promote greater development of cooperation between the two sides.

When inspecting the Soviet Union's Ukraine SSR not long ago, Gorbachev pointed out: Today, numerous socialist countries are exploring the road and situation in their life [words indistinct]. They are heading for a common goal. They are the source of the force and vitality of socialism.

Northeast Asia

Japan-USSR Consultations Begin 19 Mar

Japan To Focus on N. Territories

OW1803062789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Potapov commentary]

[Text] The regular Soviet-Japan consultations at the foreign vice ministerial level will begin in Tokyo on 19 March. In connection with this, Moscow Radio Tokyo correspondent Potapov reports the following:

The regular consultations at the foreign vice ministerial level are suitable for the present circumstances of the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministries. Including the upcoming consultations, the consultations have been held nine times. At past meetings, both sides have discussed broad-ranging issues including international and bilateral issues. The exchange of views at these consultations have been valuable and, needless to say, helped the two sides understand each other's position.

At the upcoming talks, many issues—such as the situation on the Korean peninsula, the Afghan and Cambodian situations, Soviet-U.S. relations, and Japan-China relations—will be discussed for 2 days from 19 to 20 March. In addition, the second meeting of the working group will be held on 21 March. As you are aware, the working group was set up when Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Japan last December. The task of the working group is to discuss all matters related to the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan and to find ways to narrow views on all issues, including political, environmental protection, [word indistinct] issues. All of these issues will be incorporated in the peace treaty.

At the first meeting of the working group, the Soviet side definitely expressed its readiness to discuss any issue of mutual interest. According to a Soviet diplomatic source, there will be no taboos or any restrictions on the upcoming working group meeting. However, the Japanese side intends to focus the meeting discussions on a single agenda item—that of the so-called Northern Territories issue—as reported by some dailies in Japan. Will discussions at the meeting make any progress under

these circumstances? According to the same source, the Soviet side thinks that it is not appropriate to focus the discussions of a peace treaty on a single issue on which both sides have largely different views. The discussions under these circumstances will not be able to narrow the other's different views.

Rogachev, Kuriyama Meet

LD1903162189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo, 19 March—TASS correspondents Vladimir Kuchko and Vladimir Solntsev report: A businesslike and constructive exchange of opinions on problems of the world situation was conducted today in the context of the consultations between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs that have begun here. The Soviet delegation is headed by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the Japanese delegation by Takakazu Kuriyama, administrative vice minister of foreign affairs. In the first round of consultations, the main focus of attention was a discussion of a broad range of issues of a global nature, including East-West relations, the disarmament problem, and the problem of the economic situation in Europe in the context of the move to regional integration.

The Soviet side expounded in detail the Soviet Union's view of the contemporary international situation as was set out, in particular, in the address to the UN by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It was pointed out that the present meeting, the ninth to date, is proceeding under conditions of a general thaw in the international situation, of a change from confrontation to dialogue, and from rivalry to interaction between East and West. The Soviet side pointed out the need to take advantage of the impetus the treaty on intermediate and shorter range missiles has given to the disarmament process, and also expressed the hope for a continuation of constructive dialogue with the U.S. Administration. One would also wish Soviet-Japanese relations not to lag behind the positive tendencies in development of the international situation.

During a conversation lasting more than 3 hours, the similarity or proximity of the positions of principle of the sides on a number of international problems of a global nature was stated, first and foremost in the sphere of disarmament. The Japanese side pointed out that the Soviet policy of new thinking has contributed to the improvement in the international situation. In this connection, a positive evaluation was given of the general trend and the conceptual provisions of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN and of the USSR's decision, contained therein, to reduce the numbers of its Armed Forces by 500,000. The idea was expressed on the Japanese side that the transition from confrontation to dialogue was creating an opportunity for Japan to perform more actively in the international arena in conformity with the concept put forward by Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita envisaging an increase in Japan's contribution to the world community. The hope was expressed that progress will be achieved at the Soviet-American talks on reducing strategic armaments and at the Vienna talks that have begun on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and on confidence and security building measures. The Japanese side expressed the opinion that Soviet-Japanese relations are of great significance from the point of view of the development of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and relations between the East and West as a whole.

U.S. To Increase Planes, Troops in Japan

OW1803070589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] PRAVDA, a major newspaper in the Soviet Union, has carried a report from Tokyo correspondent Latyshev. The report says the U.S. military intends to expand its presence in Japan. The U.S. military's intention has come to light as the Philippine Government has decided to remove all U.S. military installations from Philippine territory, following changes in the country's political situation.

According to mass media reports in Japan, at least one combat fighter squadron will be moved to Kadena Air Base from Clark Air Base this fall. The plan also includes moving many F-130 [as heard] transportation planes from Clark Air Base to Yokota Air Base in Japan this fall. In keeping with this relocation plan, a large number of troops are to be moved from the Philippines to Japan. At present, more than 50,000 U.S.troops are stationed in Japan. In the face of this relocation plan by the U.S. military, unrest is running high in Okinawa, where 20 percent of the land is occupied by U.S. military installations.

DPRK Decries U.S. Actions, 'Team Spirit'

LD1803151189 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Panmunjom March 18 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Zhebin:

U.S. actions in Korea run counter to the detente trend that has taken shape in the world. This was stated by Major General Choe Ui-ung, head of a Korean-Chinese delegation in the military commission on armistice in Korea, at its regular session held on Saturday. It was convened on the demand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in connection with the official announcement of the holding of a joint American-South Korean military exercise Team Spirit-89.

The DPRK representative said that the military exercise was of an offensive nature. The DPRK regards it as a rehearsal of an attack on North Korea. This follows from the fact that some 200,000 servicemen and major air

force and naval units, including B-52 strategic bombers, are taking part in the military exercise. Choe Ui-ung pointed out that in the existing situation the DPRK decision on placing on high alert its armed forces and other paramilitary units was a self-defence measure. He also called attention to the fact that the military exercise hampers a Pyongyang-Seoul dialogue and leads to the growth of tension in that part of the world, and demanded an immediate end to Team Spirit-89.

U.S. Rear Admiral L. Vogt, senior delegate of the command of the UN Armed Forces at the military commission on Korean armistice, maintains that the Team Spirit military exercise is of a defensive nature. He said that invitations to send its observers to such military exercises had been sent to the DPRK since 1982, which, in his opinion, is evidence of the fact that they pose no threat to anyone.

Choe Ui-ung said that the DPRK had no intention to follow the aggressive military exercise and described an invitation to it as deception tactics and a derision of the Korean and other people demanding the termination of Team Spirit-89. In connection with assertions of the U.S. representative about the threat allegedly coming from the DPRK, the head of the Korean-Chinese delegation called attention to the fact that Washington and Seoul were ignoring Pyongyang's proposals on a mutual termination of military exercises and the reduction of the armed forces of both sides in Korea.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippines' Concepcion, Katushev Discuss Trade

HK1803073789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Philippine Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion has just concluded his visit to the Soviet Union where he held talks with Konstantin Katushev, Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Malkevich, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce, and other Soviet officials. A protocol on trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Philippines was signed at the end of the visit.

A press conference presided over by Concepcion and Katushev followed the signing of the protocol at the Philippine Embassy. It was natural that reporters were interested in the contents of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

[Begin recording] [Katushev in Russian with superimposed Tagalog translation] Both the Soviet Union and the Philippines enjoy a long history in trade and economic relations, said Konstantin Katushev. These relations are based on two agreements concluded between the two governments. The first is the 1976 agreement on trade cooperation and the second is the agreement on scientific and technological cooperation concluded in 1982. [end recording]

Noting the decline in bilateral trade last year, the Soviet minister said: The current visit to the Soviet Union of the Philippine delegation as well as the frank exchanges of opinion on a broad range of issues on trade and economic cooperation will definitely inject greater dynamism into our relationships. The volume of trade between the Soviet Union and the Philippines is also expected to grow this year.

Meanwhile, Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion described in concrete terms the results of the talks in Moscow.

[Begin Concepcion recording in English fading into Tagalog translation] In order to achieve a new level in the Philippines-Soviet Union relationship, we have proposed new initiatives that require political will.

To achieve a new level in Philippines-Soviet Union relations, we have proposed the implementation of a full range of concrete steps. In the area of trade, we plan to increase the volume of trade five times, that is, from $40 million to $200 million in 1992. I am pleased that the Soviet Union has agreed to our proposal for conducting trade to the ratio of 2:1 in favor of the Philippines during the first few years. This trade imbalance will subsequently be corrected through joint ventures in the Philippines.

An agreement has also been reached on the export of animal skins from the Soviet Union. These will be processed in small factories and will then be re-exported to the Soviet Union as half-finished products needed for manufacturing shoes. [end recording] Concepcion added that these are just preliminary measures.

[Begin Concepcion recording in English fading into Tagalog translation] The agenda also included the signing of an agreement on the export of Philippine electronic products to the Soviet Union, and the launching of regular Moscow-Manila flights by Aeroflot and Philippine Airlines.

In Moscow, we also tackled the issue of cooperation in the field of energy, specifically with the province of Isabela as a project site. The opening of Philippine representation in Vladivostok was also seriously discussed. It is a move that will be beneficial to the promotion of cooperation in this Soviet region.

Hence, the visit of the delegation represents a peaceful Philippine economic initiative to the Soviet Union. I hope that it will bring great benefits to our two countries, contribute to mutual understanding, and strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. The development of Soviet-Philippines relations and of trade and economic cooperation between our two countries are entirely in line with the initiatives launched by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok. They also conform to the objectives of Philippine President Corazon Aquino in promoting relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines. [end recording]

Cambodian Opposition 'Turn Toward War' Decried

PM1703194389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Petr Tsvetov "Point of View": "War Once Again?"]

[Text] A meeting between Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan—leaders of three Cambodian emigre groupings—was held a few days ago in Beijing, and the creation of a "Cambodian Resistance Supreme Council of National Defense" was announced at its conclusion. The council's purpose is to unite under Sihanouk's command the armed forces of the three groupings, with Pol Pot's men representing the overwhelming majority, and to step up military pressure on the PRK Government. Sihanouk, head of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, proclaimed that he is "prepared to move his forces against the Phnom Penh Army following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia."

This casts a different light on reports received earlier. Pol Pot's men are engaged in work in the Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand designed to transform the unfortunate camp inmates into fighters who, in the event of repatriation, would become a military-political force acting on instructions from the opposition leaders against the people's power. One automatically looks for possible links with the following news report: Sihanouk's son Prince Ranaritth is aiming for U.S. military aid for their grouping during his visit to the United States.

These facts are alarming. One gets the impression that Sihanouk, Son Sann, Khieu Samphan, (and maybe someone else) have set themselves the goal of trying once more for a military solution to the Cambodian problem. And yet it would appear that the whole world is already of the opinion that this regional knot can be unraveled only by political measures. Let me cite a few examples. Even the communique on the first meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Sihanouk back in December 1987 declared their joint opinion that settlement ought to be effected through talks between the parties to the conflict.

In the consensus declaration by the chairman of the even broader and informal Jakarta meeting (held last February), representatives of the PRK, the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the six ASEAN countries, and the three Cambodian opposition groupings confirmed their agreement that "the Cambodian problem must be settled politically so as to help create a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia."

I would like to cite one more altogether fresh proof of the broad interest in a peaceful development of processes in Indochina. Literally 3 days ago Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, confirmed during talks with Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan of Thailand that the Chinese Government advocates a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. In turn, the Thai prime minister emphasized that his country is also striving for the restoration of peace in Cambodia.

So, who would benefit from the latest turn of events, fraught with the resumption of bloodshed in this tiny Asian country, which suffered horrible losses during the years of rule by Pol Pot's mob and has not known peace for almost 2 decades now? This turn of events obviously runs contrary to the trend toward easing international tension which is backed by all sober-minded people on earth. ASEAN would hardly be interested in this, since it advocates peace, stability, and all-around cooperation in Southeast Asia.

A turn toward war would not suit either the PRK or the SRV, which are planning to complete the withdrawal of Vietnamese servicemen from Cambodian territory by 30 September this year, provided that a political settlement is reached. When withdrawing its troops, the SRV Government must be assured (and, in my view, no honest person could desire otherwise) that no war will be fought on the Khmers' long-suffering land and that no one will pose a threat against Vietnam's borders.

It appears that a return to the old, violent methods for solving the Cambodian dispute is in the interests of only a certain section of the Cambodian opposition (some individuals within these factions do not approve of their leaders' adventurism). Speaking in Beijing, Sihanouk compared the war in Cambodia with the Afghan war. Could it be that some Khmers are envious of the dubious laurels of the hard-line Afghan opposition? I fear that the desired laurel crown could turn into a funeral wreath. Would it not be more sensible to return to the talks and continue the movement along the path paved in Paris and Jakarta?

Cambodia Progress Since Jakarta Meeting Viewed

BK1803041189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Unidentified station observer's commentary: "A Step Forward"]

[Text] It has been a month now since the second Jakarta informal meeting on Cambodia was held. This meeting was a great step forward in the cause of solving the Cambodian problem. At this meeting, Cambodian parties agreed on a number of issues, namely the linking of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal and prevention of the genocidal Pol Pot regime's return to power in Cambodia, the end of civil war, and the end of military assistance to opposing parties. What events have taken place since the second Jakarta meeting?

Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos have taken a number of steps to consolidate and expand the success already achieved at the informal meeting. Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's

Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], has proposed that Samdech Sihanouk start organizing a summit meeting. At the same time, the opposing Cambodian parties have intensified activities that run counter to the efforts to seek mutual understanding with the PRK's legitimate government. Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan have announced the establishment of a high council for national defense under Samdech Sihanouk's leadership and expressed readiness to lead their forces to fight against those of Phnom Penh. The statement of these three parties is aimed at showing their strengthened unity and at overshadowing Pol Pot. However, even propaganda media in Western Europe have noted that the opposing Cambodian parties' two-face policy has no effect.

On behalf of their people, the PRK leaders have resolutely stated that under no circumstances will they allow the Pol Pot clique to return to power. Furthermore, the arrogance and greedy ambition of the Khmer Rouge have quite clearly disturbed the Sihanouk and Son Sann groups. Ranaritth, son of Samdech Sihanouk who has been visiting the United States during the past few days, said in an interview that he went to the United States to ask for necessary weapons to guarantee that the Khmer Rouge cannot return to power in Cambodia. It should be noted that even in the United States, the Pol Pot clique is notorious. At the U.S. Department of State, the Khmer Rouge have been branded a horde of murderers. It is even more complicated if one talks about the attitude of U.S. personalities toward other Cambodian opposing groups.

As Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, recently observed, U.S. leading circles are misled on the real situation in Cambodia and in their intention to provide military assistance to two opposing groups, those of Sihanouk and Son Sann, to oppose the third group, that of Pol Pot. This stand represents only one thing, that is, a cover-up of maneuvers aimed at opposing the PRK. It would be better if the Sihanouk and Son Sann groups cooperated in first opposing the Pol Pot group before turning to the PRK, Comrade Hun Sen pointed out.

The Thai newspaper THE NATION has noted that the Pol Pot group tends to carry out stupid activities. Faced with the threat of reduced foreign assistance and in order to strengthen its financial situation, the Pol Pot clique has resorted to open harassment and banditry. The Pol Pot clique illegally extracted valuable gemstones in Cambodia and sent them abroad. If these bandits had not persisted in hindering efforts to quickly settle the Cambodian conflict, the chance of building a firm and durable peace in the PRK would have been greatly increased.

In connection with this issue, I would like to point out the plan and measures to prevent the Pol Pot clique from returning to power proposed by Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, foreign minister of the SRV. The Vietnamese minister has proposed the following special measures: immediately end military assistance to the Pol Pot clique, disarm its forces, punish its ringleaders, seize its arsenals, and prevent it from controlling refugee centers.

The struggle on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts for peace in Cambodia continues. The PRK is maintaining its calm and restraint. It firmly believes in its strength. The Vietnamese and Lao people, other fraternal socialist countries, and peace-loving forces the world over will support the PRK in this just cause.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Visits Moscow

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD1703190589 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received on Friday an Iranian diplomat who arrived in the USSR for consultations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The diplomat, Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani, who holds the rank of deputy foreign minister, handed over to Shevardnadze a message from Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

During the conversation, held in a frank atmosphere, the sides held a thorough and useful exchange of views on bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations and other issues of mutual interest.

Issues related to the situation in Afghanistan and around that country were in the focus of attention. Both sides expressed readiness to help bring about the earliest cessation of bloodshed in Afghanistan, end to foreign intereference in its internal affairs and peace through the exercise of the Afghan people's sovereign right to determine by themeselves their future.

Lavasani observed that Iran highly estimates the Soviet Union's commitment to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and reaffirmed the Iranian leadership's readiness to continue the Soviet-Iranian dialogue on the entire range of matters related to Afghanistan.

Much attention was given to the Iran-Iraq settlement. The Soviet official reaffirmed his country's principled stand in favour of the final settlement between Iran and Iraq on the basis of Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council through talks and stressed the important role of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in this process.

The Soviet Union's readiness to facilitate the settlement was stressed.

The Iranian representative said that his country is seeking peace and stability in the region and is prepared to continue cooperation with the UN secretary-general on settlement issues.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the current invigoration of Soviet-Iranian political contacts on a regular basis.

Meets With Petrovskiy

LD1803142689 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani, deputy foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, visited the Soviet Union on March 16-18 for holding consultations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

During his conversations with Vladimir Petrovskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister, and other senior officials of the ministry, they exchanged views on questions connected with the fulfillment in full volume of the Geneva accords in Afghanistan, a final settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict as soon as possible in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution, some other international problems and Soviet-Iranian bilateral relations.

The sides stated their mutual desire to continue a Soviet-Iranian dialogue on a regular basis and to discuss a wide range of problems of mutual interest.

Tehran Radio Reports Visit

NC1803101789 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0330 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Mr Lavasani, our country's deputy foreign minister, who is currently on a visit to Moscow as the head of a delegation, met the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze yesterday and conveyed a message from our country's foreign minister, Mr Velayati, to him.

During this meeting, the latest developments on bilateal ties and means of broadening them, especially the exchange of messages by the two countries' leaders, and regional issues were discussed and assessed. In this meeting, Mr Shevardnadze termed his visit to Tehran and his meeting with Imam Khomeyni the turning point in relations between the two countries. He expressed the hope that, with the upgrading of the level of contacts between the two countries and the continuation of fruitful exchanges of views, the present level of ties between the two countries would greatly expand.

Our country's deputy foreign minister for international affairs also met Mr Petrovskiy, the deputy minister for international affairs of the Soviet Foreign Ministry [title as heard], in Moscow yesterday. During this meeting, the Soviet official spoke of the recent fruitful talks between the two countries and said: These talks are special and can result in closer cooperation between the two countries in various international fields. He added: On most international issues, we are in agreement, and on this basis we can forge ahead toward effective cooperation on the international scene. We witnessed that the visit by Mr Shevardnadze to Tehran infused a deep and definite dynamism in the ties of the two countries.

On the issue of implementation of Resolution 598, Mr Petrovskiy said: We desire the resolution of differences between Iran and Iraq, on the basis of Resolution 598. Our assessment is that its implementation on the basis of the UN secretary general's 4-point plan is the best way to do this.

During this meeting Mr Lavasani said: The first and most fundamental step in ties between the two countries has been taken, and now we can take the next step with greater confidence.

Khomeyni's Rushdie Edict Called 'Barbaric'

LD1903210789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1457 GMT 19 Mar 89

[From the "International Panorama" program; Aleksandr Bovin commentary]

[Excerpts] In Bombay 42 years ago a man was born about whom the entire world has been speaking for over a month. This man is Salman Rushdie, the author of the novel "The Satanic Verses." The novel was banned last year, first of all in Pakistan, I think, but it became a world bestseller, the talk of the town, and the epicenter, so to speak, of inflamed passions only after 14 February, when Ayatollah Khomeyni called on Muslims to kill Salman Rushdie for being a blasphemer who had offended Islam and the Muslims.

I am sure that 99 percent of those who support the sentence passed by Khomeyni have not read the novel. However, it is precisely because it replaces reason with blind faith that fanaticism is strong and dangerous. All that is needed is for someone to believe in it.

My television colleagues asked the Iranian and Pakistani embassies to comment on the situation for us. Unfortunately, both the Iranian and the Pakistani diplomats refused to comment. So we will look into it ourselves.

First of all, this is what the novel "The Satanic Verses" actually looks like. [video shows Bovin holding up a hardback edition of the book] Here on the cover is a photograph of the author of the novel. [video shows photo of Rushdie]

Not so long ago, following a call from the Bombay imams, an effigy of Rushdie was set on fire next to the school where he was a pupil. Rushdie himself has long resided in Britain, and "The Satanic Verses" is, I believe,

his fourth novel. All his books have enjoyed success, and they have been translated into more than 20 languages around the world. [passage omitted]

Well, comrades, it is hard for me to judge whether the novel offends Muslim sensibilities. If it does, then that is, of course, bad. But even if it does, to condemn the author to death is barbaric and smacks of the Middle Ages. It is an affront to every civilized human being.

In an attempt to get the Muslim world on its side, Tehran dispatched couriers to various countries, but things have not worked out especially well for it. In particular, the foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference Organization who met last week adopted a more moderate position: They did accuse Rushdie of blasphemy, but did not endorse Khomeyni's call to have him killed.

No doubt there are some viewers who are wondering why I should spend so much time talking about a book which many, indeed most of us will not read. Of course, the point is not the book, comrades: The point is that we are confronted with a political fact, a sort of indicator of profound emotions, a yardstick of public morality. Just see how vulnerable are the times in which we live: so unstable internally that a single book, just one book, is enough to provoke a political crisis and lead to thousands of people spilling out onto the streets; unstable enough for the remains of burned books to be found lying beside the remains of people killed.

Uncertain Whether Jalalabad Can 'Hold Out'

LD1803180389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A tense situation is prevailing in Afghanistan. We have just contacted our correspondent in Kabul via satellite.

[Commentator Yuriy Rostov, identified by caption] [video shows Rostov sitting in studio with back to camera talking to Aleksandr Shkirando, who is seen on a television monitor in a studio setting] In all of the days that have just passed, one of the main international themes has been the development of the situation around the Afghan city of Jalalabad. The opposition is striving to capture it and then relocate its illegitimate government there from abroad, from Pakistan. How have events been developing today?

[Shkirando] There are very great losses on both sides. True, according to the data from Afghan sources the rebel losses are greater than those of the government troops. As for the number of rebels who have concentrated themselves around Jalalabad, there are approximately 20,000 of them. Pakistani servicemen and militia, and staff of Pakistan's military intelligence right now make up about 25 percent of the detachments of the extremists attacking Jalalabad. Just a few days ago this 26-year-old scout, Mohammad Absad, was among their ranks. [video briefly shows Absad]

As for the tactics for combat operations around Jalalabad, the Pakistani scout said that, as a rule, the onslaught on the city is being implemented along three lines. The rebels go first, the Pakistan militia follow them, and army units of the Armed Forces of Pakistan cover, or rather force both sets to go into battle.

[Rostov] Why has Jalalabad been picked as the target for the attack?

[Shkirando] The fact that the armed opposition has decided to capture Jalalabad bears evidence to its weakness rather than its strength, but, after all, here, 70 kilometres from the Afghan-Pakistani border, the armed opposition feels not only the elbow of its patron in the person of the Pakistani brass, but also its direct support.

[Rostov] What is our forecast? How will the situation around Jalalabad develop in the immediate future?

[Shkirando] It is fairly difficult right now to definitely answer the question of whether or not Jalalabad will hold out. I repeat once more that we are seeing in Jalalabad not just an acute manifestation of the conflict within Afghanistan, but the armed interference of Pakistan, interference that is growing into aggression.

Captured Pakistani Agents Meet Press in Kabul

Sent on Spying, Recruiting Missions

LD1903140689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1231 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Spellings of names as received]

[Text] Kabul 19 March (TASS)—A press conference was held here today for local and foreign journalists. Questions by representatives of the press were answered by two agents from Pakistani military intelligence who were arrested recently in Qandahar Province.

Nabi Amani, the head of the Republic of Afghanistan Foreign Ministry Press Center, introduced the prisoners: Mohammad Afzul, age 25, a native of the Village of Chambai in the Punjab major district of Chakku and a corporal in military intelligence; and Mohammad Ashraf, age 26, from Sind, who worked in Baluchistan, a sergeant in military intelligence.

According to Afzul, he was sent into Afghan territory on a purely spying mission: to determine the stationing of units of the Afghan Army and their armaments, and also to recruit Afghan officers to serve in Pakistan's military

intelligence. Mohammad Asef, the head of an Intelligence Department, instructed him and saw to his dispatch. On 12 March, the spy infiltrated Qandahar Province with a group of Afghan refugees, and the next day was arrested.

Ashraf ended up in the same province with a group headed by Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad Aslam. Apart from gathering intelligence information, the group trained one Mawqiawi Adbul Halim, who is under the leadership of the "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" and the "premier" of the self-styled "transitional government" of the mujahidin, A.R. Sayyaf, in the handling of heavy weapons and methods of combat action.

Ashraf stated that when he crossed over from Chaman (Pakistan) into the subdistrict of Spin Buldak, he saw detachments of Pakistani malishi (armed tribal militia) supporting a rebel operation against government troops by means of artillery fire. He also indicated that on the territory of Afghanistan, he had met four advisers from Saudi Arabia, and had even spoken to one of them—Obaidollah by name. In Pakistan, Ashraf had seen many American advisers who had later been sent to Afghanistan.

Pakistanis Among Mujahidin

LD1903200789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] A press conference was held in the Afghan capital today for local and foreign correspondents. Our correspondent in Kabul, Aleksandr Shkirando, reports.

[Shkirando] Taking part in this press conference today were some not entirely ordinary guests: Pakistani special services agents Mohammad Afzul [name as heard] and Mohammad Ashraf [name as heard], who were recently seized by Afghan security personnel. Despite some differences typical for their specific activity, the two men are links in the large-scale armed intervention by Pakistan into the affairs of Afghanistan, which, after the start of the Jalalabad events, became apparent even to many Western correspondents who have now arrived in the Afghan capital.

Mohammad Afzul, a 26-year-old Punjabi, said that he was often in various regions of Afghanistan. As for his activity, it was of the most varied nature: gathering information about security posts and the numerical strength of government troops in Jalalabad, photographing secret sites, and the training of rebels in firing heavy artillery. Mohammad Afzul asserted that in Nangarhar Province, alongside units of militia, irregular units of the (FFRYu)—made up mainly of individuals of Punjabi nationality—are operating.

So far as the front formation in the Jalalabad vicinity is concerned, Mohammad Afzul said, it looks like this: On the frontline of the attackers are rebels, on the second are militia, and on the third are irregular units of the Pakistan Army.

What was said by Mohammad Afzul was also confirmed by 35-year-old Mohammad Ashraf.

At every rebel stronghold in the Qandahar, Nangarhar, and Helmand provinces, he said, I came across officers of the Pakistani units concentrated in the border regions, whose task, along with those of us in the special services, is to help the Afghan opposition seize Jalalabad and then Qandahar.

Well, there is no need to doubt that these intelligence operatives—or rather former ones—are knowledgeable about Pakistan's true intentions with regard to Afghanistan.

Pakistani Troops Used To Curb Karachi Unrest

LD2003115289 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Islamabad March 20 TASS—Pakistani troops were brought to the central and western blocks of the largest Pakistani city of Karachi after 15 people had died of bullets fired by extremists on Saturday.

Eyewitness accounts have it that several masked bandits, upon having taken convenient positions, had fired at passersby, shop owners and traders from automatic weapons. Women and children had also become victims of the bandits. A curfew is in effect in several districts of the city.

Twenty-nine people were killed over ten days alone as a result of bloody clashes between Pushtuns, who come from the northwestern border province, and Muhajirs, settlers from India.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, who visited Karachi on Sunday, described the militants' attacks against civilian population as villainous and pointed out that the country's government would take additional measures to avert senseless killings.

Brutents Discusses Israel Ties, Mideast Crisis

TA1903134089 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 19 Mar 89 p 4

[Report from Rome by Yosi Bar]

[Text] "The Soviet Union conducts intensive contacts with Israel, and they are continuously expanding. We have offered Israel a number of steps designed to solve the Middle East crisis, and we believe Israel will accept

them." This statement was made by Karen Brutents, the director of the Kremlin foreign relations department [title as published], in an interview with YEDI'OT AHARONOT.

Brutents is currently in Rome for the Italian Communist Party convention. Eighty-five delegations from all over the world, including a delegation from Israel, are in Rome for the convention. The Israeli delegation includes, for the first time, representatives from the Citizens Rights Movement and the Labor Party, as well as delegates from the United Workers' Party [MAPAM] and the New Communist List [RAKAH].

Brutents said: "We consider having diplomatic relations with Israel as normal, beneficial, and necessary. We want to renew diplomatic relations, but you must prove that you desire this as well. This cannot be done without solving the Middle East conflict once and for all. Today the chances of achieving a solution are better than they have ever been."

Brutents expressed his opinion that an international conference is crucial to ending the crisis: "This is an effective tool that will allow solutions to be found in the least painful manner. The conference would not preclude bilateral contacts. There are problems, however, that are shared by more than two countries, and international support can only facilitate their solution. No participant in the conference will be able to exert pressure on Israel, and the presence of the superpowers will contribute to a constructive atmosphere."

Brutents added: "I count on the United States to influence Israel, but we will also expand our contacts with your country. We know that Israel does not ignore our position."

Commenting on immigration from the Soviet Union, Brutents said: "The Soviet Union has opened its gates for all the Jews. We respond in the affirmative to 97.7 percent of all requests for exit visas. Whoever wants to can immigrate, but not everyone wants to."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Soviets Attend London Talks on S. Africa

PM1703164189 London MORNING STAR in English 17 Mar 89 p 4

[Kate Clark dispatch: "Soviet View on Apartheid"]

[Text] Moscow—Soviet new political thinking on southern Africa supports the African National Congress [ANC] in its legitimate struggel and is for the isolation of the apartheid regime, a Soviet Africa expert made clear at a round-table discussion in Moscow this week.

"We are against all contacts with the apartheid regime but we are in favour of contacts with all those forces in South Africa who come out against apartheid," Vasiliy Solodovnikov, deputy chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee said.

Mr Solodovnikov, who is the former Soviet ambassador to Zambia and also a senior member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, led the Soviet delegation to last October's talks in West Germany with liberal Afrikaners and with ANC members.

Africa Institute director Anatoliy Gromyko told the Moscow discussion about a recent conference near London between British and Soviet academics to which some white South African academics were invited. He denounced the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH's reports of the conference as a distortion. It had been an academics' conference, he pointed out, not, as the TELEGRAPH had claimed, "secret talks."

In fact there had been nothing secret about the conference, which was organised by the U.S. Roberts Foundation, Mr Gromyko said.

The British host side had consulted the Soviet academics on whether to invite South African experts and the Soviet delegation had agreed, he added.

"The more meetings between academics on these complex international questions, the better," he declared.

It is clear that there are shifts in Soviet thinking on southern Africa. But to suggest, as some media reports have done, that Soviet new political thinking means ditching the ANC and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] is manifestly untrue.

What the shift in policy means, it emerged at this week's Moscow round-table discussion, is that while continuing to support all the forms of struggle being used at present by the national liberation forces in the region, a search has begun to widen contacts with all possible forces with a view to finding the best way to isolate the apartheid regime and bring about its end.

All the white South Africans at the London meeting had sharply criticised the policy of apartheid, Mr Gromyko pointed out.

The Soviet academics had told the British conference that the armed struggle was one of the means that the ANC used, he added.

It was a response to the violence to which the black population of South Africa was daily subjected by the apartheid regime.

A stage-by-stage aboliton of apartheid was advocated by Dr Andrey Pokrovskiy, an Africa Institute expert at Wednesday's rountable discussion.

Mr Gromyko commented: "There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nation-wide discussion at which all sections of society would be represented.

"This will mean sitting down for negotiations for two, three or however many years to solve the problems."

"We are old and true brothers-in-arms of the ANC," Soviet Foreign Ministry African countries departmental head Yuriy Yukalov said during the discussion.

We have no differences with the ANC," he added, pointing out that this had been stressed at last week's meeting between the ANC and Soviet Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

"We would prefer a political settlement in South Africa and a political solution to end apartheid," Mr Yukalov said, citing the recent Namibia independence accord as a model where realism and political responsibility had triumphed.

Asked to what extent the military victories of the Angolan and Cuban troops had contributed to that settlement, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said:

"I think the military victories were the decisive factor in making the South African Government think and understand that military means against Angola were a dead end."

A solution to see the end of apartheid need not necessarily have to be by stepping up the armed struggle, Mr Yukalov added.

Various other means existed, including intensifying sanctions against South Africa.

"While the apartheid system still exists, the political isolation of South Africa must continue," Mr Yukalov added. "But this does not mean that the South African regime can only be talked to in the language of threats and fistbanging. It could be by dialogue."

Permanent representatives of the South West Africa People's Organisation in the USSR, Bonny Haufiku, said that his organisations had never opposed negotiations with South Africa.

"We have long been calling on South Africa to talk, but the Pretoria regime has not been willing," Mr Haufiku pointed out.

"We are not fighting because we like fighting," he went on, "or because we want to die. We know what it costs.

"When we talk of negotiating with South Africa, we should be aware of what South Africa is," he warned, pointing out that Pretoria had broken earlier accords.

Intimidation of the Namibian people in the north and east of the country was continuing, the SWAPO representative said.

Support for the ANC and SWAPO could not be reduced while South Africa supported its puppet regime in Namibia, he said.

He was clearly referring to financial and armed support, since the Pretoria regime shows no signs of lessening its support, including arms supplies, for the anti-national liberation forces.

"If South Africa does not want to talk, what alternative do we have? Mr Haufika asked.

Aid to SWAPO and the ANC would continue, assured Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee leader Vasiliy Solodovnikov.

He added that the Soviet Union wanted to send observers to Namibia to monitor the elections planned for later this year.

RSA National Party Controversy Viewed

Fedorov Comments

MB1703110889 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary]

[Text] The Federal Council, which is the central body of the National Party, the ruling one in South Africa, has overwhelmingly voted for the transfer of presidential powers to Frederick de Klerk. At a special meeting in Cape Town, the Federal Council admitted that the Nationalist leader should be president. This situation is unusual for the National Party. Although there have been sensations over the 40 years of its existence, this is a precedent. Party opposition to Botha is a crisis not only for the party but for the government too. Talks have been continuing at various levels since the day the president arrived from the resort town of the wilderness where he was on holiday.

De Klerk described his discussions with the president as acute. For its part, the South African television assessed the meeting as very tough. It noted that the meeting left the issue of who should run the country open. There is every indication that such a situation was brewing long ago. Despite censorship, about a year ago the South African newspapers began to criticize Pieter Botha first implicitly and then openly. There was discontent over his luxury [word indistinct] and excessive power attributes. But that is of secondary importance. The main criticism was leveled at the diehard home and foreign policies.

Neither blacks nor whites were pleased with the cosmetic reforms keeping apartheid intact. Thus it was not on the 18th January when Pieter Botha was admitted to a military hospital in Cape Town that the issue of replacing the president came up. Apparently when he agreed to appoint Mr de Klerk as his successor at the post of the National Party leader, Mr Botha did not expect the consequences of this. Political observers in South Africa regard this as yet another miscalculation by the 73-year-old president. Although Mr de Klerk's positions have been shadowed after last year's municipal elections, his influence in the party is rather strong.

The FINANCIAL MAIL describes him as a clever pragmatic fully resolved to make the existing system work better. This is promising, of course, for those in South Africa who hope to preserve apartheid. At the same time he has never denied equal opportunities for all South African citizens in political life. This aspect appeals to the white opposition, in particular businessmen censuring Pieter Botha's inflexible policy in the spirit of [word indistinct].

Time will show how the crisis in the ruling National Party and government ends. One thing is certain, the replacement of the president alone can hardly stabilize the situation in South Africa. The situation will not improve if a new president restricts himself to promises to carry out even revolutionary reforms. There have been too many promises and too little action.

RSA's Slovo Comments

MB1503181489 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] South African reports say the National Party caucus has approved a resolution calling President P.W. Botha to resign the presidency, thus indicating its wish to have Mr F.W. de Klerk, who acceded to the leadership of the party during the president's illness, take over the reins of government. However, after recovering President Botha announced his intention to see out his term of office as president. So how may the situation in South Africa be analyzed, now that the National Party has turned its back on President Botha? This is what South African Communist Party General Secretary Joe Slovo says:

[Begin Slovo recording in English, fading into Zulu translation] An attempt is being made by the Pretoria regime and its friends outside the country to suggest that perhaps De Klerk will usher in a significant era of positive reform. However, we believe that all the current talk by the South African leadership merely confirms a well-known truth, that any change in the ruling vanguard will only be attempted while digging in to stay in the apartheid seat. The only apparent change is a step backward. Whatever the National Party leadership may say, their interests are not aligned to hopes for genuine reform in this country. Blacks know that there is only one road to reform, and that is through the removal of the apartheid regime. March 21 is a day of rededication to the fight against apartheid, and our people are determined to push forward in the struggle against the regime, and to gain more international support for the sanctions campaign against Pretoria. The only language the regime can ever speak is one of ever increasing repression. [end recording]

East Europe

Rival Rallies Mark Hungarian Jubilee

PM1703150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov report: "One Holiday, Two Demonstrations"]

[Text] Budapest—This year, for the first time, 15 March—the anniversary of the anti-Habsburg national uprising of 1848—was declared a nonworking day and a day of nationwide celebration.

This noteworthy date was preceded by quite long disputes and debates. The Patriotic People's Front (PPF), in conjunction with the MSZMP and the traditional mass organizations, proposed to all of the country's social forces that they celebrate 15 March together. Many alternative organizations, however, citing the fact that previously the authorities had prevented their independent demonstrations on 15 March, refused to celebrate it together with the MSZMP and the Hungarian Communist Youth League [KISZ]. True, the alternative organizations added that they intended to mark the holiday separately this year alone. It is interesting that in a number of cities, such as Gyor, Kecskemet, Eger, Veszprem, and Esztergom, representatives of the MSZMP and the alternative organizations—the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, and the Smallholders Party—agreed on a joint celebration of 15 March, and joint demonstrations were held in those places.

As for the capital, Budapest, the celebration began a day early there. On 14 March National Assembly deputies and members of the government held a ceremonial session to which representatives of the diplomatic corps were invited. M. Szuros, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and the new president of the National Assembly, delivered a speech in which he noted that the legacy of 1848 still belongs to all generations of Hungarians. After the session those present laid wreaths at the Kossuth monument in the square in front of the parliament building. This is the first time such a ceremony has been held.

...It was 1100 hours on 15 March. The area in front of the national museum and the adjacent park were filled by tens of thousands of people with national flags who had come at the behest of the PPF, MSZMP, and KISZ. It was on this very spot 141 years ago that Sandor Petofi and his comrades announced their "12-Point" program.

Incidentally, the alternative organizations also prepared a 12-point program for this noteworthy occasion. As the rally in front of the national museum where the main speaker was Minister of State R. Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, was nearing its end, nearby, by the Petofi monument on 15 March Square, some of the 12 points of the program of the independent organizations, whose supporters had gathered at midday, were already being read out.

"Real representation of the people and a multiparty system," "freedom of speech, the press, conscience, and education," "the right to strike," "public control of state expenditure," and "the truth about 1956"—those were some of the points from the program quoted most often not only by the Petofi monument but also afterward on Freedom Square in front the television building, where tens of thousands of supporters of the alternative organizations went to hand out the 12-point program to the television leadership. Some of the alternative youth organizations, clearly imitating the seizure of a printing house by Petofi's supporters in 1848, viewed this action as a "symbolic occupation of the television building." However, the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the most influential movement among the alternative circles, said that such an interpretation was not serious. The same definition—not serious— could also be applied to certain slogans and comments by representatives of a number of youth organizations during the procession...

On the whole the demonstrations passed in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. According to police information, not a single incident was recorded either in Budapest or in other cities in the country. Public organizers kept order. For example, representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum were on duty around the monument to Soviet servicemen on Freedom Square.

SFRY's Markovic Congratulated on Election

PM2003085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to Yugoslavia's Ante Markovic]

[Text] To Comrade Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Assembly Federal Executive Council

Esteemed Comrade Ante Markovic,

Accept cordial congratulations on your election as president of the SFRY Federal Assembly Federal Executive Council, and wishes for successful activity in this responsible position.

We express confidence that the dynamically developing relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY will strengthen and improve in the interests of our countries' peoples and the cause of peace and socialism.

The USSR Council of Ministers

Romanian Officials Released From Posts

PM2003090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch: "Subjected to Criticism"]

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Mar—A session of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee chaired by N. Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, has taken place here. A report on the results of economic and financial activity in 1988 was heard and discussed.

Financial and banking organizations were subjected to sharp criticism at the session in connection with the unsatisfactory results of their work. It was pointed out that N. Ibanescu, deputy prime minister; G. Paraschiv, Romanian minister of finance; F. Dumitrescu, manager of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and N. Eremia, president of the Agriculture and Food Industry Bank, seriously violated certain provisions of the law on granting credits and failed to fulfill their duties in ensuring proper organization of financial and economic activities and republic enterprises' profitability and efficiency. They were released from their posts by a presidential decree. A decision to implement a number of mneasures to improve financial and economic activity was adopted.

The Political Executive Committee decided to convene the next plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 12 April. The plenum will discuss tasks in the sphere of economic and party work and preparations for the 14th RCP Congress.

Journalists Examine Current Polish Issues

PM1703163189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[First part of special correspondent N. Yermolovich dispatch: "Two Days in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw-Moscow—A group of Soviet journalists spent 2 days in the Polish capital at the invitation of M. Rakowski in order to obtain firsthand information, as the saying goes. "There's a good view from Moscow," the premier said, "but it's even better from Warsaw." Of course, he was referring to Polish problems.

Needless to say there was no time to spare. Conversation followed conversation, almost nonstop. In addition to the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, we were received by Jozef Czyrek and Stanislaw Ciosek, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee; Ireneusz Sekula, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers; Jerzy Urban, Polish Government press spokesman; and Eugeniusz Szatkowski, deputy minister of industry. Besides those on the agenda, I met Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee, and Zenon Komender,

chairman of the PAX Association Main Board. I also had a conversation with V.I. Brovikov, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Poland.

As representatives of the most important Soviet mass media, including television and press agencies, we keep an attentive eye on the life of Polish society and the processes taking place there. Many of us have worked in Warsaw and know Polish. That is why there were no particular revelations in what we heard. There was something more important, perhaps. We saw the Polish leaders (the opposition uses a different word—the "authorities") as distinct personalities, each with his own character, temperament, way of speaking, and viewpoints, which—although they tallied in the main—were always tinged with a personal view.

Each of our interlocutors was interesting in his own way, with his own specialties. All the same and without wishing to offend our Polish comrades who gave us so much attention, I would single out the meeting with our colleague—now premier—Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Politics is his life and destiny.... In our politicized time what could be more exciting and dramatic?! I was struck by an episode which the premier mentioned in passing. Once, at the end of a long conversation about the current situation and everything that had preceded it, two well-known and, seemingly, equally well-blessed men—himself and Polish National Defense Minister Army General Florian Siwicki—noted sadly: "We haven't had a single day's peace. We've been deprived of the joy of living."

"I have thought a lot recently," Rakowski said, "about whether we were too precipitate in holding the PZPR Central Committee Plenum at which we adopted far-reaching reforms. I came to the conclusion that it was the right time. We have constantly been accused of being slow. However, new social conditions have come to maturity. Repressions against the opposition were only possible until the latter became a permanent element in Poland's political life. This was helped by changes in the public consciousness. These in turn were brought about by changes in the world and the changing generations. The military generation, with its own view of the world and socialism, is leaving the arena. World War II is a historical watershed. My heroic military generation was at the same time more prone to compromise because it knew the price of life. The new generation is bolder—but this is not always a positive characteristic. The fear barrier was a political category. The new generation doesn't have that. There is openness instead of fear. My generation did not go to jail willingly, but people are going willingly now so that they can say later: 'The Communists put me there!' The problem of fitting the opposition into the political structure was in the air. That doesn't mean that this experiment will succeed. Success will depend on the political maturity of all the sides involved. The PZPR activated the roundtable. I see that as the party's salvation: The party is now in the hot seat. Very difficult years lie ahead of us and, to our great regret, socialist countries cannot help one another economically...."

I am forced to stop here. Otherwise this will only be an interview with the premier. We also spoke to other people. That is why I must sum up what they said, grouping them under topics. The first is, of course, the economy.

Only 3 percent of Poles regard the country's economic position as good, whereas 95 percent consider it bad. This is despite the fact that economic reform in Poland has already been under way for 8 years. But it has been carried out timidly and inconsistently and dragged out over many years. Hence its insufficient effectiveness and its indeterminateness. Analysis of the data on the country's socioeconomic position for 1988 cited in a recent report published by Poland's Main Statistics Administration illustrates that it was characterized both by quite high rates of economic growth and a deepening economic disequilibrium and high rates of inflation.

Early last year Zbigniew Messner's government carried out operation "price-income" within the second phase of the economic reform, which should, according to the plan, have been a phase on the way to bringing Poland's prices closer to world prices. The price hike was supposed to compensate for increased wages and pensions. As a result retail prices immediatelt rose on average by 60 percent (the highest level in the last few years: Prices rose by 18.1 and 27 percent in 1986 and 1987 respectively) and prices for certain types of goods and services—power sources, for instance—rose by 200 percent. This generated massive inflation because contractual prices and prices for services in the private sector began to rise at even faster rates. This was followed by increased disequilibrium on the market, a shortage of goods, and an increase in waiting lines. Not only did the hardships of everyday life intensify, but so did differences in the living standards of individual groups in society. All this could not fail to provoke justified dissatisfaction among the population.

The government's actions were regarded as erroneous. This ultimately led to its resignation and the appointment of a new Council of Ministers headed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski last October. What can we say about its first steps?

There is still no definitive blueprint for the Polish economic reform, especially in the prices and income field and the elaboration of economic incentives, including for scientific and technical progress. But there is a clear course that the government is following.

First, the endeavor to act quickly and resolutely. The country is experiencing a period of turmoil: The old mechanisms are no longer operational and there are still no new ones. That is like repairing an apartment while you are still living in it. So the government has resolved to reduce to a minimum the timetable for its reform—to within limits acceptable to society.

A package of laws was submitted to the Sejm straight away—a package insofar as life has demonstrated that individual laws do not work in isolation. The aim is to create a national economy with more and more market relations. At present such markets exist in production—the sale of fruit and vegetables and (oh, eternally mysterious Poland!)... personal computers. A foreign exchange market will open as of 15 March. Yes, henceforth there will be one currency within the country—the zloty—and foreign currencies will be a commodity paid for in zlotys. Business will be transacted at foreign currency exchanges for enterprises and exchange centers for citizens; the black market will disappear and enterprises will gain true independence. If you want to obtain Western technology and equipment, buy foreign currency.

There is another extremely important element in the chosen policy: minimal direct interference from the government (state) in economic activity. It must be confined to major energy-producing enterprises, transport, the import of strategic raw materials, and so on. Taxes, credits, and customs policy are also under government jurisdiction.

"The Polish economy," Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula said with a smile, "is now developing under the slogan of the French Revolution. We have only replaced the word 'fraternity' because under our conditions that smacks of typical egalitarianism. The motto now reads 'Liberty, Equality... Competition.'"

Liberty in that as of 1 January everyone won the right to initiate economic activity. No one—either bureaucratic officials or establishments of the same stamp—will be able to deny them registration once they get started. This is because there are no preliminary conditions for this and merely a token charge—Z10,000 (little more than R60 at the official rate). Of course, if you are registering a transport cooperative, for instance, or a firm, then you have to confirm that you have a fleet of vehicles and drivers. It is only for certain types of activity—the production of medicine, weapons, and so on—that one has to win the right to a concession. There were 10,000 registrations in January alone. No one has been refused so far.

Equality means identical supplies of raw materials and semimanufactures (imported goods via auctions) and equal availability of credit. A bank's first inquiry used to be: Who are you? Now they only ask the following question: What do you intend to use the money for? Because there is a list of priorities: housing construction, environmental protection... Credit is a priority for those sectors, and interest rates are low.

Competition... Mining, shipbuilding, and metallurgy used to be considered national sectors. Now that is only the case with highly profitable production units. For the unskilled and the inefficient there is no salvation. Enterprises operate on self-financing: The more you earn the better you live. Enterprises keep quite a high percentage of the profits.

January's figures are a source of delight—the increase in industrial production topped 10 percent. Prospects for February are also good—this was helped considerably by the mild winter, or rather the total lack of a winter.

Are there difficulties and problems? More than enough.

The main one is the disequilibrium in the market. Although the dynamics in the increase in supplies of market goods has reached 6-8 percent, it is not making itself felt. The population has too much "excess money" that it has not earned but has received in the form of grants and compensation "extracted" as a result of strikes. Money that is not backed by an increase in labor productivity and not balanced against manufactured goods. Our Polish comrades are seeking ways to "soak up" this money without consumer spending. The percentage of long-term investments has risen considerably—they are now 500 percent above the level of 1 year ago. You can win large prizes (depending on the size and term of the investment) of Z200 million and Z500 million by investing in lotteries. Bonds and shares are issued. In that way alone it has proved possible to remove hundreds of billions of zlotys from the market.

Last year inflation topped 60 percent and this year it is holding steady at a level of 55 percent. Thus the rise in inflation which was seen to be a constant feature of the last few years can be said to have been halted.

Subsidies in 1988 formed more than 30 percent of the budget. Such is the cost of a moderate price rise. Some experts, however, believe that controlled subsidies are better than inflation.

The budget deficit and the vast foreign debt are curbing economic growth and structural changes. But this is a special topic. Whereas Poland's foreign credits are still problematic, flourishing enterprises receive them. Thus, "Hortex," which is renowned far and wide for its frozen fruit and vegetables ("Morozko" store in Moscow), flowers, and candy, has received $10 million in credit. I stress that it is "Hortex" rather than Poland itself that has received this money.

In short, the country's economic position is quite complex. There are virtually no internal reserves; there is still hope of outside credit but difficult talks lie ahead. Time and sacrifices on the part of the population are needed to revive and improve the economy, and the population is never prepared to make sacrifices. This has been shown by the current, virtually incessant strikes and by the particularly powerful wave of strikes last May-August which caused long stoppages at many Polish enterprises.

The economic disorder inevitably smacked of sociopolitical upheaval. The opposition, which had ostensibly left the political scene for good, once again made itself known vociferously. Rare mentions of "Solidarity" in the Soviet press were always accompanied by the adjective former, and it even seemed indecent to recall its leader, Lech Walesa. Polish party circles described him as a "political corpse."

In May 1988 only 34 percent of Poles believed that "Solidarity" should be restored. A small majority, but nonetheless a majority—36 percent—objected to this. The situation has now changed radically. This February 78 percent of those polled advocated the legalization of "Solidarity" and only 8 percent opposed. Some 14 percent expressed no opinion on this. It is interesting to explain what is expected of "Solidarity." An overwhelming majority of those polled expect an improvement in the country's economic position, a reduction in social tension, and an improvement in relations with Western countries. Some 32 percent stated their readiness to join a legal "Solidarity."

It has become clear that it is impossible to lead Polish society in the old way. The opposition has become a significant element in the country's sociopolitical life. The Polish leadership is faced with a choice: It should either influence the opposition by using force or enlist it in cooperation through dialogue. It chose the latter—the roundtable meeting. This meeting is continuing its work in Warsaw.

"We will not solve our Polish problems by concluding an alliance with the opposition," Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said. "Our problems will only begin from that moment on."

More about them in the next dispatch.

Rakowski Greets Ryzhkov From Aircraft

PM2003084189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "From the Aircraft"]

[Text] M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers, has sent from his aircraft a telegram to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The telegram says:

"Flying over USSR territory, I send cordial greetings to you, esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and to the whole fraternal Soviet people.

"I express confidence that the relations of friendship, cooperation, and unbreakable alliance linking our states and peoples will continue to strengthen and develop and to serve well the process of restructuring in both our countries, the interests of the socialist community, and the cause of peace and security on earth."

BCP To Ignore Anonymous Letters, Complaints

PM1603151889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev report under the rubric "The Socialist Countries: The Fraternal Parties' Life": "Criticizing Openly"]

[Text] Sofia, 14 Mar—The BCP Central Committee Politburo adopted a resolution recently entitled "Anonymous Complaints To Be Disregarded." Letters, complaints, and other materials that are unsigned will now not be examined and checked on in BCP organizations, as they were formerly.

This is what Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission, told PRAVDA's correspondent:

"The adoption of a special resolution on anonymous letters arose from the desire to support the concept of the BCP Central Committee July (1987) Plenum on widening democratization and glasnost in Bulgarian society. Practice shows that this process is accompanied by a drastic increase in the number of anonymous letters, complaints, and requests. Sometimes their authors are people whose conscience is not clear or who are afraid to take responsibility. The checking of anonymous documents takes a great deal of time and has severe effects on the prestige of the people against whom they are directed. The authors of anonymous letters are in no way accountable. At the present stage in the restructuring of socialist society, when guarantees against suppression and persecution for criticism are being strengthened, the BCP Central Committee Politburo regards anonymous complaints as a phenomenon alien to the process of renewal and believes that party, state, economic, and social organs and organizations should disregard anonymous letters. It remains to add that the first responses received by the BCP Central Committee and the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission show that Bulgaria's public received with satisfaction this document directed against malicious anonymous letter-writers."

Deputy Foreign Minister Receives GDR Envoy

PM2003101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister, has received G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, at his request. They discussed certain questions of bilateral relations and upcoming top-level political contacts between the USSR and the GDR.

West Europe

Yakovlev, Delegation Depart on Rome Visit

PM2003084789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation left Moscow for Rome on 17 March to take part in the work of the regular 18th Italian Communist Party Congress. It is headed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and includes G.V. Novozhilov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and general designer at Moscow's S.V. Ilyushin Machine Building Plant; K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and I.A. Antonov, director of the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Art.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

G. Zucconi, Italian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, was among the send-off party.

The CPSU delegation headed by A.N. Yakovlev arrived in Rome on the same day. The delegation was met at the capital's Ciampino Airport by G. Napolitano and A. Rubbi, members of the Italian Communist Party Leadership.

USSR Ambassador to the Italian Republic N.M. Lunkov was among the welcoming party.

Ryzhkov Receives Swedish Finance Minister

PM2003083989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conversation With Swedish Minister"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 17 March received Kjell-Olof Feldt, Swedish minister of finance who is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Finance Ministry, in accordance with the agreement between the two countries' heads of government on extending intergovernmental contacts.

Welcoming Kjell-Olof Feldt as a prominent statesman and politician of Sweden, Ryzhkov noted that the Soviet Union attaches immense importance to a further development of the relations of good-neighborliness and multifaceted cooperation with Sweden, and to promoting mutual understanding both on bilateral and international issues, especially in what concerns the improvement of the situation in Europe and the building of a common European home.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers described the main directions of political and socioeconomic processes launched in the Soviet Union at the new stage of restructuring and underlined the particular importance of the March plenary meeting of the CPSU, which has formulated the party's new agrarian policy in the interests of the speediest solution of the food problem.

Ryzhkov also noted that the economic reform in the Soviet Union creates favorable conditions for expanding trade, economic, and scientific and technical links between the Soviet Union and Sweden, and making broader use of their progressive forms.

Kjell-Olof Feldt said that people in Sweden follow with unhalting attention the sweeping restructuring process in the Soviet Union and wish it success. Prospects for Soviet-Swedish cooperation, which along with traditional areas will increasingly cover environmental conservation problems, power engineering, and the conversion of military production to the production of civil output, are connected with this.

Taking part in the conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, were USSR Minister of Finance B.I. Gostev; Swedish Ambassador to the USSR A.I. Thunborg; and G. Lund and E. Asbrink, secretaries of state at the Swedish Ministry of Finance.

France Recalls Ambassador From Romania

PM2003102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[REUTER-attributed report: "France Recalls Ambassador From Bucharest"]

[Text] France has decided to recall Jean-Marie le Breton, its ambassador in Bucharest, for consultations, and to cancel the planned Franco-Romanian talks in protest against human rights violations in Romania.

The French Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that the French Government is seriously concerned by reports that the Romanian security services have used force against some of the people who signed the open letter to Nicolae Ceaucescu. As is well known, six RCP veterans lodged a protest in this letter against violations of human rights agreements, failure to observe citizens' constitutional rights, and the country's poor economic leadership.

UK Official Holds Talks on Mideast Settlement

PM2003100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, received D. Gore-Booth, British assistant permanent under secretary of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, on 16 March for a conversation. On the

same day consultations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry between V.F. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, and D. Gore-Booth.

During the conversation and consultations, the situation in the Near East was discussed and opinions were exchanged on intensifying preparations for an international conference on a Near East settlement.

UK Business Month To Open in Moscow

PM2003112389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Orlov report: "British Landing on the Shores of the Moscow River"]

[Text] The British-Soviet business month, which will take place at Moscow's International Trade Center 10-28 April, will be the largest public showing of British business capabilities in the USSR in the last 20 years.

Although Britain no longer holds first place in trade with the USSR, it is nevertheless an important business partner for our country. It is a major importer of Soviet raw materials and offers an expanding market for a number of industrial goods. In turn many British firms such as "John Brown," "ICI," Davy," "Rank Xerox," "Wellcome," and others have been supplying the Soviet market with their products for many years.

The task of achieving a 40-percent increase in bilateral commodity turnover by 1990, which was put forward during the British prime minister's visit to Moscow, was a guideline for businessmen on the banks of both the Moscow River and the Thames. The new Soviet-British summit meeting scheduled for early April can be expected to be a new landmark in broadening bilateral business cooperation.

The British-Soviet business month in Moscow may open up good opportunities for partners. We asked John Allen, Moscow director of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, to talk about it.

[Allen] We expect approximately 300 firms, banks, and tourist companies to take part. Many of them will be trying their hand at the Soviet market for the first time. An impressive government delegation from London will attend the ceremonial opening on 10 April. It will include Energy Secretary Cecil Parkinson and Trade Secretary Alan Clarke.

During the month exhibitions will be organized for special areas of commerce at the International Trade Center. The first week power engineering, transport, agricultural, and chemical firms will demonstrate their capacities. The following week Soviet specialists will be able to familiarize themselves with the advances made in health care and communications and with inspection and measuring equipment. Finally machine-building, printing industry, and construction output and consumer goods will be brought to the attention of the Soviet audience and introduced to the service sector. Moscow's International Trade Center will be the scene of most intensive talks between the two countries' businessmen.

The cultural program promises to be enthralling: During the month Moscow will be the stage for a Charlie Chaplin film festival and an exhibition of modern English painting. Fireworks and the launching of gigantic hot-air balloons (probably in Gorkiy Park) may be an unexpected sight for Muscovites.

"I am sure that the coming British-Soviet month," J. Allen said in conclusion, "will help satisfy growing British interest in the processes now taking place in the USSR."

W. Berlin Senate Elected; Agreement Signed

PM2003103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Korolev dispatch: "Senate Elected"]

[Text] West Berlin—The municipal parliament—Senate—was elected on Thursday at West Berlin's House of Representatives. As a result of the ballot 44-year-old Walter Momper, chairman of West Berlin's Social Democratic Party [SPD], has been elected governing mayor. The Senate of 13 members comprises 10 Social Democrats and 3 members of the "Alternative List" party. For the first time there are more women than men in the Senate—eight.

A coalition agreement was signed between the Social Democrats and the "Alternative List" the day before. In particular, this agreement says that West Berlin should make its own contribution to the process of detente. The new Senate intends to submit political initiatives that will help boost the city's activeness in East-West dialogue. It envisages developing closer relations between West Berlin and the GDR and other socialist countries. The coalition document stressed that good-neighborliness, peace, and cooperation are a sound foundation for ensuring West Berlin's vitality and prospects.

Dietmar Staffelt, the new chairman of the SPD group in the House of Representatives, said in the course of the debate following the election that the results of the 29 January 1989 elections expressed West Berliners' will in favor of the Senate's future policy. He pointed to the massive unemployment, the housing crisis, and West Berlin's many other social problems. Albert Satz, chairman of the "Alternative List," pointed to the difficult legacy left by the former Senate and pointed out that the city has 100,000 unemployed and tens of thousands of people on the poverty line.

During the first debate in the new House of Representatives, a representative of the "Republicans" made malicious attacks on the government coalition.

W. Momper, the new governing mayor, stressed in his speech that the results of the ballot to elect Senate members demonstrated the unity within the coalition ranks and expressed the conviction that the city had a sufficiently stable basis for a "Red-Green" coalition.

In mid-April W. Momper will issue a government statement expounding the main aims and tasks of the current Senate.

Delegation Leaves for Belgian Congress

PM2003085189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To the Communist Party of Belgium Congress"]

[Text] V.N. Sharkov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, left Moscow for Brussels on 17 March to take part in the work of the 24th Communist Party of Belgium Congress.

CPSU Greets Congress

PM2003085789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium]

[Text] To the 24th Communist Party of Belgium Congress

Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends comradely greetings to the delegates to the Communist Party of Belgium Congress and to all members and friends of your party.

Belgian Communists, together with all democratic forces in the country, uphold the working people's vital interests in a situation of profound changes taking place in Europe and all over the world. Today the peoples are being given an opportunity to put an end to military confrontation and to concentrate all their energies and resources on the solution of social and other problems and to ensure the peaceful future of civilization. People of goodwill, and primarily communists, bear the lofty responsibility of ensuring that this opportunity is constructively utilized to the majority's benefit.

We wish the Belgian Communists new successes in their persistent struggle for a fairer life and in defense of human rights. Successful work to your congress.

The CPSU Central Committee

Latin America & Caribbean

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Central America

LD1703224289 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Asked by a TASS correspondent to comment on the recent decision of the Nicaraguan National Assembly to declare an amnesty, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman replied:

"First of all, this step shows that the Sandinista National Liberation Front is consistently pursuing a course towards national reconciliation and the democratisation of domestic political life.

Secondly, it points to the firm intention of the Nicaraguan leadership to fulfil, strictly within the announced period, the agreements reached in El Salvador a month ago at a meeting of five Central American presidents on developing and deepening the process of settling conflict situations in Central America.

The Sandinistas' sincere intentions to comply with the Guatemala agreement and establish normal relations with their neighbours have been confirmed by their recent proposals to Honduras for disbanding contra armed units under the supervision of the Organisation of American States and the International Red Cross.

These proposals tally with the context of the accords reached in El Salvador.

President Daniel Ortega's recent statement in which he said that the U.S.-planned humanitarian aid to contras should be directed at their earliest demobilisation and resettlement, envisaged by the Salvador declaration, and be limited to three months is also permeated with a constructive spirit and the aspiration to untangle the complex and intricate situation in Central America and Nicaragua.

The Soviet Union is watching with attention the developments in Central America. It supports Nicaragua's above-mentioned constructive steps and the endeavours of other Central American states to defuse the conflict situation in the region, promote processes of democratising their political life and establishing good-neighbourly relations amongst themselves.

There is a firm belief in Moscow that all members of the international community should strive to secure favourable conditions so that the Central American situation be settled by the Central Americans themselves.

Restraint and constructive attitude are especially required in this on the part of those nations outside the region which are characterised, in keeping with the established terminology, as having their "aims and interests" in the region.

At present, when encouraging trends are emerging in Central America, these nations should help the process of settlement or, at least, refrain from actions that might hinder it.

In this connection, the plans to grant long-term humanitarian assistance to contras cannot be viewed as being conducive to the lessening of tensions in Central America.

They are in fact directed at delaying the process of the disbandment and resettlement of these armed units from Honduran territory and preserving them as a force hampering the normalisation of Nicaraguan-Honduran relations and the process of national reconciliation inside Nicaragua.

As to the Soviet Union, its stance is known. This stance was, specifically, reaffirmed in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's statement of February 22, 1989.

The USSR's view on Central America does not contradict the aims and interests of the Central American countries and peoples. We will respect all accords on peaceful settlement reached by the Central American countries and actively facilitate the establishment of peace and good-neighbourly relations among the regions nations.

Violence Mars Elections in El Salvador

LD2003093389 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Havana March 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda:

Jose Ricardo Perdomo, chairman of the Central Electoral Council of El Salvador, announced the end of the presidential elections in the country in a telephone interview with TASS. The counting of votes in Sunday's election in the presence of foreign observers was in progress, and preliminary results would be declared later on Monday. Political observers believe that Alfredo Cristiani, candidate of the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance, has won.

Staff members of the Central Electoral Council noted in an interview with TASS that voting began slowly in the morning. A total of 1,835,000 voters were registered in the country with a population of five million. According to estimates of journalists in San Salvador, the percentage of Salvadoreans who abstained from voting was higher this time than at the 1984 presidential election which was won by Jose Napoleon Duarte, candidate of the Christian Democratic Party.

Constant armed clashes between detachments of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and army units interfered with the presidential election. On the eve of the election, the insurgent radio stations Venceremos and Farabundo Marti broadcast reports that guerillas would not attack polling stations. Insurgents attacked military garrisons in more than 20 inhabited localities throughout the country on Sunday, putting out of action some 150 government troops. Guerillas also downed a helicopter gunship in Usulutan region. As a result of insurgent actions, a considerable part of the country remains without electricity or telephone communication. The insurgent operation to block highways and railways continues.

Vides Casanova, Salvadorean minister of defence and public security, admitted that the election did not take place in 29 out of 262 districts in the country due to the fact that the Army could not restore control over those territories.

Apart from motor vehicles with troops and military partols, only taxis with journalists covering the voting drove in San Salvador on the election day. Press cars had white handkerchiefs fixed to aerials. This precaution was taken after military patrols killed three journalists: Roberto Navas, a REUTER news photographer, Coronel Lagrow, a Dutch TV correspondent, and Mauricio Pineda, a staff member of Salvadorean television. Luis Galdamez, another REUTER correspondent, was seriously wounded, and his arm will probably have to be amputated.

Komplektov Receives Ecuadoran Ambassador

PM2003101189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] V.G Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Eduardo Santos Alvite, Ecuadoran ambassador to the USSR, on 17 March in connection with the impending presentation of his credentials.

CPSU Greets Dominican Communist Congress

PM1703145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee undated greetings message: "To the Fourth Dominican Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent greetings to the delegates to the Fourth Dominican Communist Party [PCD] Congress and all Dominican Communists.

At the current turning point in history, communists in various countries are looking for answers to the challenge of the time and determining the best ways of struggling for socialist ideals at a time of multifaceted social progress. Your party firmly defends working people's interests and advocates the country's independent and democratic development.

The revolutionary restructuring taking place in the USSR is aimed at comprehensively revealing the advantages of the socialist system and its humanitarian essence. The new political thinking is organically linked with the CPSU's course of restructuring. It is the task of each and every one to save civilization from nuclear destruction and ensure a peaceful and secure future for mankind.

We hope that the work of the Fourth Dominican Communist Party Congress will be fruitful.

May the ties of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the Dominican Communist Party strengthen!

The CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

TV Reports Second Day of CPSU Agrarian Plenum

LD1703111189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 89

[From the 'Vremya' newscast; video report on second day of CPSU Central Committee Plenum proceedings in the Kremlin on 16 March—all participants' remarks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Good evening and hello comrades!

The participants of the CPSU Central Committee plenum discussed in Moscow today the program of radical reforms in the countryside. [Video shows Gorbachev mounting the rostrum, taking his seat in the center of the second row; he is followed by other Politburo members who take their seats; the audience gives a standing ovation. Video shows a distant view of the rostrum and then focuses on Gorbachev speaking; Ligachev is seated on his right, Ryzhkov on his left]

Opening the discussion, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev acquainted those present with the cables which have arrived at the Central Committee plenum.

[Gorbachev] Well, how interesting! I think it's worth starting with this. I got carried away; then I thought, what's the point of my reading to myself while you just sit there? So these are the cables. [video shows Gorbachev reading a cable] The first ones are fresh and impassioned: On my behalf and on behalf of my comrades I sincerely hope for renewal in the countryside. We wish the plenum great success in solving these historical tasks. We admire the newness and boldness. At the same time I ask the presidium to help us urgently to organize an agricultural cooperative on the basis of the Antratsitovskiy Sovkhoz in Voroshilovgrad Oblast. Vladimir Vasilyevich [not further identified]. We are prepared to lease 300-500 hectares of land and also cattle and to bring the party's directives to life by our participation. We have turned many times to the raykom and obkom, to the PRAVDA editorial office, to the Supreme Soviet, to central television; we have turned to the party's Central Committee three times, which has given us a scandalous reputation. All we got were sly formal replies from unscrupulous officials defending selfish interests. We are getting established in fits and starts. The elite [oprichnina] in the rayon is being asked to bury restructuring. The path toward leasing is strewn with profit and ambition and lust for power and envy, which exclude the opportunity to be competitive and bold. [audience laughs, Gorbachev laughs]

Listen: I am a scientist-agronomist with 30 years service, I am a party member, and I ask to be invited to Moscow for a discussion, or for an impartial commission to be sent to get acquainted with our program. A person should not brush aside our civic demands as if passing a sentence without knowing the truth. I ask for urgent help. Antratsit, Sovetsk-aya Street, apartment 14.

The next one is from Obninsk: I propose a discussion of the need to direct 500,000 communists from the towns to work in the countryside in the non-chernozem zone. I am ready to be among the first. Wishing you fruitful work. Engineer Kharitonov, member of the CPSU from Obninsk. [applause; Gorbachev smiles and picks up another telegram]

Here is someone who speaks out, comrades! A telegram from Tashkent: In order to expand lease-contracting, it is evidently first and foremost necessary to declare ownerless all vacant land (?and buildings) belonging to kolkhozes and sovkhozes and others, and hand them over to local soviets. That was from Tashkent.

Staryy Oskol—a request to strengthen the kolkhozes and sovkhozes according to Bidul's, Vagin's and Starodubtsev's method, by altogether eliminating the losses. Nastasya Prokhorovna Sushkova.

From Melitopol: A proposal to disband the rayon agroindustrial associations and to send the specialists to the kolkhozes to put an end to poisoning land and people with chemicals and to ban the catastrophe of the ecology. To reorganize the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources to renew the villages, which are becoming desolate. To halt open cast coal mining, not to mutilate thousands of hectares of arable land. To abolish taxes [oklady] and to implement the principle of socialism won by the October revolution: from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. Signed, a veteran of war and labor and a disabled soldier of the Soviet Army.

Kherson—well, the Ukraine is responding actively! [audience laughs] We propose the mobilization and despatch to agriculture—to the village—of 100,000 communists—specialists from towns—and to temporarily ban the stream of the population from the village to the towns. Kuzma Matveyevich Marushenko, Kherson.

From Ulan-Ude: Around 5,000 tonnes of high-quality horsemeat—dressed weight—is taken annually out of Buryatiya to the country's wild animal rearing farms. Each inhabitant of the republic is deprived of 5 kg of this traditional produce, the average prime cost of which is less than R100 per quintal. In exchange, we bring in imported meat, paid for in gold [vvozim zolotoye importnoye myaso]. The problem of procuring wild animal fur skins is being poorly resolved. Some of the country's richest hunting areas are being developed to the tune of 10-50 percent. The development of traditional branches of animal husbandry—horse breeding, reindeer breeding, yak breeding—well, yaks, yaks!—has been forgotten. There we have it.

From Kiev [laughter]: Esteemed plenum participants, I have expressed a wish to take a lease on the whole of Novoselovka settlement in Berislavskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast. [laughter] It's the 40th Anniversary of October Sovkhoz. I used to work as a crop specialist here; I sent a letter to the Ukrainian State Agro-Industrial Committee asking for assistance. Comrade Kolomiyets signed, and so did Sytnik. The matter got as far as the financiers and the builders—they immediately cut all the money! And so on. It seems to me leasing will go well in the Ukraine! [laughter]

From Lutugino—I don't even know where that is. What? The Ukraine again! My congratulations. Wake up the agricultural science which has gone into hiding. They are also to blame. Yes, yes, it's Voroshilovgrad Oblast.

So there we have the telegrams, by way of getting our thoughts together. Comrades, let's continue the plenum proceedings.

[Announcers] Then the debate began. Comrade Potapov, first secretary of Irkutsk Obkom, noted in his speech that the problem of providing foodstuffs for the population of many Siberian regions is a most acute one. Measures adopted recently, in particular those on social reorganization of the countryside, have made it possible to meet certain immediate tasks. Meat, milk, and vegetable consumption have increased in the oblast. All farms have reached a profitable working level. This has happened in large measures thanks to the introduction of lease contracting. Yet, the speaker stressed, the extremely bad provision of social and production facilities in the countryside continues to act as a brake on the improvement of matters in agriculture. In conclusion Comrade Potapov stressed:

[Potapov] In these circumstances, when the ideology of the priority development of agriculture has not yet reached everyone, I would say that a protective policy toward the countryside by the party and government is needed as never before. We need to launch ourselves on this stage in a more substantial way, and subsequently a stable policy in this direction will be required for a lengthy period of time. While we fully realize that the improvement of economic relations is the main sphere for improving the effectiveness of agricultural production, the material and social base should nevertheless receive a more intensified development. And here is another matter that I believe to be very important—important because the comprehensive potential should be applied to rural life in as specific a way as the strengthening of its material-technical base and the formation of economic relations. The relevant adjustments in this direction should, in our view, be made to the program being discussed at the plenum. The formation of a stable rural intelligentsia is a policy for long-term work.

[Announcer] Comrade Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, singled out the task of sharply raising the prestige of peasant labor as one of the primary tasks. This must happen on the basis of a diversity of forms of ownership, use of property, and equal economic conditions, and rights for sovkhozes and kolkhozes, processing enterprises, lessees, cooperatives, and peasant holdings. The speaker dwelled on the experience of the republic, where the transfer of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production to industrial technology is the main avenue for its development. After all, labor inputs are thereby 3 or 4 times as low, and working conditions are substantially better. Comrade Sokolov added:

[Sokolov] The effectiveness of agrarian policy will in large, if not decisive, measure depend on price-setting. The time has come to sort out the system of adding extra amounts to the prices of the output of weak farms, so as not to give rise to an attitude of dependence on others and social injustice. After all, we find ourselves paying not for labor and its fruits, but for an indifferent attitude to the job at hand. It is desirable to put the resources that currently go toward the extra payments into purchase prices determined by climatic conditions and the land survey. In defining new procurement prices, it is extremely important that aside from being geared to high end results and other goals they should provide for first, an equivalency of exchange between the agrarian and other sectors of the economy, and second, the profitability of farms that find themselves in unfavorable conditions. At the same time, the right to set price differentials should be granted to the republics.

[Announcer] On the rostrum is Comrade Motornyy, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz, Kherson Oblast.

[Motornyy] I would like to say a few words about those comments or perhaps, proposals, that in my view there is some point discussing. We are now setting up a state commission of the Council of Ministers on food and procurement. Further, a state service to organize procurement and deliveries is being set up under that commission. We are raising the issue of eliminating management, the administrative-bureaucratic system of management. I can find no consistency in the tackling of this matter.

I think this begs the conclusion that all this is the state procurement service that, incidentally, we had before. It evidently will be the administrative body that will not merely administer us—the kolkhoz or sovkhoz—but will thoroughly harrass us. Schedules will soon appear and accounting sheets, and he will come to us and say: Well, buddy, you signed. I understand, you say, but you need another 20 days to bring livestock up to standard. No. You have to meet the schedule. Well, comrades, we will, but, given such a structure, the kind of independence in deciding matters that we would like to have evidently will not exist.

The proposal is that it is necessary all the same to take units and divide them into ones that will not have to meet any targets at all or state orders, let them work independently. Take our conscience, take someone with the most intensive pledges on his own conscience and

someone who can't deal with matters today, let him be given the utmost assistance, just that person and then, I think, the matter would be much better resolved.

Comrade, if we are talking about eliminating the administrative system of management, the foundation: One of the foundations, at least, of the administrative system of management is the centralization of assets, the centralization of assets, and it seems to us that in this regard, the new regional policy being introduced will help us and will be of significance in tackling this matter, so that we can deal with the matter at the local level.

[Announcer] Comrade Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of Lithuania's Communist Party, has the floor.

[Brazauskas] The party's line to fundamentally restructure production relations in the countryside and to recognize the equal status of other forms of economic management alongside kolkhozes and sovkhozes has our complete backing. In our view, the peasant holdings [krestyanskiye khozyaystva] have a good future, for the memory is still strong among our people of the farmer as the master of the land. The draft law worked out in the republic and published in the press on such holdings evokes great interest in the population. People are raising with particular urgency the matter of land ownership and the state's legal guarantee of this. We think that land should be handed over to the person who cultivates it for eternal use with the right to inherit it. Only then will we feel that we are truly masters of the land.

Another form of production relations has been implemented: shareholding. The (Zhalswali) kolkhoz was the first to use it. This form of economic management has significantly raised labor productivity. Collective property has become like their own property. The farmer will no longer accept a poor attitude to work or be satisfied with what has been achieved.

[Announcer] On the rostrum is Comrade Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow Obkom.

[Mesyats] The main route for rapidly solving the food problem is the radical restructuring [pereustroystvo] of the social system in the villages, the integrated automation of agrarian production, and a sharp cutback in the migration of the rural population. In other words, today the matter must be put as follows: The countryside must over the course of 5 to 7 years be transformed; all rural workers provided with cottage-type houses or apartments, workers; families provided with facilities for children and with schools, hospitals, roads, gas lines, and electric power for domestic needs.

[Announcer] Comrade Mesyats noted that the draft decrees on lease holding and lease holding relations in the USSR are timely and proposed that those taking part in the plenum endorse them.

Lukinov, director of the Institute of Economy of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Academician of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, said the following in his speech:

[Lukinov] Permit me briefly to sum up what, in my opinion, ought to find more precise expression in the resolution and documents of today's plenum. We should pass from administrative and arbitrary methods of state procurements of agricultural produce to methods of direct economic interest of farms in maximum sales of top-grade raw materials and produce directly to the procurement points. This means purchases at prices which fully remunerate the real cost of their production and supply, given efficient farm management. We should not allow payment for production at, say, half price or two-thirds of the price, seeing this as contradicting the the essence of the party and state agrarian policy. We should implement stringent price parity in exchange for industrial and agricultural goods and services, ruling out nonequivalent exchange and deformation of the intersector modulation of income. While so doing, one should conduct, as the speaker stressed—and I support that opinion—an efficient system for maintaining a balanced equilibrium.

For successful competition by our farms with Western farmers, we should introduce prices for grain and other imported produce on a level with world prices, taking into account freight costs not at a mythical level but at the real exchange value of the ruble against the dollar. Such an incentive to farms would free the country of dependence on foreign food, give a real and not verbal priority to the food complex in the national economic policy, support in every way and develop cooperatives, and integrate the countryside with the towns and industry with agriculture. The food economy gives the quickest turnover and return. It should occupy its proper place of priority in the economic structure of our national economy.

It is necessary to apply in this sphere the most modern scientific-technical discoveries and ideas, means, and resources. They return the investment quickly and many times over. No other sphere of activity brings such a high and steady result, given proper management.

[Announcer] Comrade Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, spoke.

[Nazarbayev] New and revolutionary approaches are also needed in planning. We believe it is necessary only to have check figures for the country. Consumption of foodstuffs per capita should be the norm for the regions, not the same old gross output. The people will then feel the effect of restructuring, and it will be clear who is working, and whether a district is capable of feeding itself. I think that one should also refine the clauses on the state order book. In our opinion, it ought to be formed from the bottom up to union level on a voluntary

basis. That will be logical and will also increase responsibility for it being fulfilled. In our estimates, the state procurement order for grain from Kazakhstan should not exceed 30 percent of production, rather than 60 percent as it is today. Under financial autonomy and self-financing, I assure you that all will sell everything at a good price. It should also be taken into consideration that conditions in Kazakhstan, where 2-3 years out of every 5 bring drought, mean a special reserve fund is needed to increase purchase prices in those years. With the transition to principles of self-financing, and moreover of territorial self-sufficiency, the conducting of a reform in price formation and of financial recovery bear primary significance for Kazakhstan where 31 percent of national income comes from the agrarian sector. We believe these questions should find a specific solution in the plenum documents.

[Announcer] Comrade Litvintsev, first secretary of the Tula Obkom, spoke of the practical realization of forms and methods of improving the activity of the agriculture complex.

[Litvintsev] We already possess convincing experience, though it may not be much. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises, which work on the basis of lease relations and genuine financial autonomy, are the most correct path to a contemporary agrarian policy. We fully support that fundamental conclusion of the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. However, scientists and economists must analyze that first experience as quickly as possible and elaborate as soon as possible all the necessary economic and legal bases for our Soviet lease system, and determine ways of realizing socialist ownership. They must not merely criticize, nor refute the strivings of practice, but give a scientific basis for it.

[Gorbachev] When we sat with a worker—perhaps one doesn't publish everything—at the Central Committee, when this meeting took place, he said: Very well then, it has all been said; the workers have had their say, so to speak. Well, we hope, all the same, that scientists have not, so to speak, changed their profession and become publicists. He was a representative from Tyumen Oblast - whoever took part in this can prompt me—in my opinion, a worker, a team-leader. He said: Let scientists help us launch leasing.

I would say that this can be turned into a slogan, so to speak, for the future when we will start carrying out the plenum's decisions: Let scientists help launch leasing, and not only leasing, but also, on the whole the new mechanisms, the restructuring of production relations. That's where it should go, that's where help is needed. [brief interruption indistinct] The worker had already understood, you understand.

[Announcer] Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee, focused attention on a set of measures that make it possible to increase agricultural output. He said:

[Murakhovskiy] The comrades who spoke here said that we must reduce state orders. In particular, Comrade Brazauskas from Lithuania said that the deliveries of meat to the union-republican stocks are many and large. Motornyy, Dmitriy Konstantinovich, also spoke about this: That farms should be freed and that, on the whole, they should be granted complete freedom. It seems to me, comrades, that in the 13th 5-Year Plan period, we cannot take that step today.

[Gorbachev] Vsevolod Serafimovich,

[Murakhovskiy] The thing is...

[Gorbachev] Vsevolod Serafimovich, I talked to Comrade Nemeth. He was on a visit here recently. I asked him: How did you in Hungary start when you were introducing the reform in the agrarian sector and the general economic reform? How did you arrive at a settlement, nevertheless, and how did you bring about the order and express the interest of the state regarding the food question, the central question of life, of everything. You cannot simply abandon it like that, so to speak, and let society, so to speak, run a fever. This is how society works.

He said, you know, people are now fighting to get a state order because they want to deliver more, to sell more. But we began by bringing in the state order while there was still no certainty and while it was necessary, so to speak, to keep our hands on things. But how did we bring it in? We carried out work on state orders via the corresponding organizations. When we saw that there was a shortage of something we began extra work to provide incentives with building materials and various other endeavors. That is, work was done.

The situation in our country is probably analagous. If all farms were like Comrade Motornyy's—let me speak right out—we would have a crisis of grain overproduction. Well, in fact, comrades, look at our 44 million cows, is that correct, Vsevolod Serafimovich?

[Murakhovskiy] Yes, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Increase the milk yields by 4,000. This is the norm for the whole world. The norm for the whole world is five, and six for the whole developed world. But take 4 or 404, 16 or 160—160 million tonnes of milk, comrades [sentence as heard]. And we now propose 140 and we proceed from that. And we know that with 140 all questions [will be resolved], 400 to 450kg per head of the population, we do not need more than that.

[Murakhovskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich....

[Gorbachev] Therefore, of course, of course if Motornyy-...what he proposes. But one should not propose something from one angle, from the Kherson viewpoint, one should consider the whole country.

[Announcer] Comrade Chazov, USSR health minister, spoke in part about the health of rural inhabitants. Living conditions in the countryside are still such that the level of infant mortality is not being reduced. Problems remain with virus and allergic illnesses. Comrade Chazov links these facts with the poor state of the material and technical base, the high turnover in medical cadres. He stressed that much of the blame lay with the farms working with pesticides.

[Chazov] The significance of the problem that I have been speaking of lies in the fact that uncovered areas of water which are the main water supply for the majority of the rural population are increasingly being polluted by pesticides and weedkillers because of their incorrect storage and application. This is not just an ecological problem, it is a question of the health of rural inhabitants. Today 1.7 million tonnes of fertilizers, persticides and weekillers are stored in the open air. There is also the question of how skilfully they are applied. The average for the country is a load of 3 kg of pesticides per hectare, but in a number of regions it is higher—in Krasnodar Kray, in the Tajik SSR, it exceeds that fivefold; in Moldavia and Uzbekistan tenfold; in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan in some areas thirtyfold. Excess pesticides eventually end up in the water areas. And it is not just the water areas. Up to two percent of produce reaching consumers' tables has a pesticide content in excess of the established norm. This is not just its content, but in excess of the established norm. And in the Uzbek SSR the figure is 2.6 percent, in the Lithuanian SSR up to 3.6 percent. I agree with Vsevolod Serafimovich that we should develop the use of chemicals and application of fertilizers. But for this, it is necesary for there to be skilful use of pesticides and mineral fertilizers.

Finally, it is a question of the unsatisfactory living conditions and low standard of sanitation of the population itself.

[Announcer] The USSR health minister, Comrade Chazov, put forward a number of proposals to strengthen the material and technical base of medicine in the countryside.

Comrade Malkov, first secretary of the Chita Obkom, voiced a view that until recently the independence of kolkhozes and sovkhozes had not been ensured and democratization of production relations in the village had been surpressed. Approving the proposals on the questions of the party's agrarian policy contained in Comrade Gorbachev's report, Comrade Malkov proposed to the plenum to examine yet another number of questions.

[Malkov] The first question concerns the land. It would be expedient to carry out a complete inventory of land in the country, both those owned by kolkhozes and sovkhozes and those which belong to the state fund, to reveal its condition and to draw up side by side with the law on land a state program for restoring the damaged lands. Its fulfilment must become the main state order and a condition for a guaranteed solution of the food program.

The inventory would also make it possible to determine the lands not in use, including those belonging to the state fund, which should be handed over to the local bodies of soviet power for developing various forms of lease contracting, cooperative activity of collectives, and individual citizens outside the framework of collective and state farms.

The second question concerns the priority of the socio-economic development of the agro-industrial complex. I too, support the statement made by Comrade Lukinov. The 19 percent growth of the volume of capital investment from the present five-year-plan which is proposed for the 13th five-year-plan does not ensure solving the planned tasks on the economic and social development of the countryside. It is necessary to significantly raise this growth, both in production and nonproduction construction. The reports on these issues presented have not been well thought out. Issues which are the most difficult in rural areas, such as the construction of rural telephone communications systems, radio and television broadcasting, and electrification, have been altogether omitted. In the Trans-Baykal area, for example, these questions have become exceptionally acute.

[Announcer] Analyzing the development of agriculture in the oblast, the first secretary of the Chita obkom spoke in favor of lease contracting relations, although they should not, in his opinion, exclude major agriculture production in the collective and state farms.

Speaking about the distribution of various agricultural crops around the country, Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, touched upon the new organization of labor in the agrarian sector.

[Nishanov] We also consider that the draft of general principles of the restructuring of the management of the economy and social sphere in the union republics on the basis of extending their sovereign rights, self-management and self-financing, which was published in the press on the eve of our plenum, can serve as a basis for genuine implementation of financial autonomy.

Approving the ideas laid in it, we understand that each region and each republic are called upon first and foremost to mobilize their own reserves and their own potentialities. In this respect it is also very important to clearly define the economic priorities. Does the economic independence mean that each region and republic are shutting themselves in their own administrative and territorial quarters, and that they even lock them? I think that even attempts of this kind must not be permitted. They would entail the most destructive consequences. By supplying around 90 percent of fiber to other regions of the union, we are bringing in our weighty contribution to

meeting one of the vitally important needs of the whole people. These are nationwide state orders, I would say. The solving of the task of both—cotton and food—is possible only through advanced agricultural machinery. And for this it is extremely important to overcome the growing of cotton as a single crop. This is the ill-fated knot of all our troubles. I would like to say directly that without untying this knot, it is useless to try to solve other problems in our conditions. Therefore, we are resolved to put an end to monoculture, which is a consequence of dark stagnation and Rashidovite [Rashidov is a former Uzbek CP first secretary] for once and for all.

[Announcer] Comrade Nishanov went on to say that a complex program of transfer of the republic's agriculture to a qualitatively new level has been drawn up in Uzbekistan.

Comrade Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, is at the rostrum.

[Vlasov] Comrades, raising the efficiency of further development of agro-industrial production presupposes the transition to a new principle of planning the further democratization of production relations. This is vitally needed and we do, of course, understand that there can be no permitting the state order to be transformed into a veiled form of pressure methods, as stated in Mikhail Sergeyevich's report, and that the main thing is that a new state order, its formation and the entire mechanism, does not undermine the interests of the interested farms. We think that the procedure and formation of the state order being proposed should differ substantially from that in existence. The calculations show that even with the kind of procedure we envisage at the moment, a republic will be obliged, as before, to deliver up to 40 percent of the gross grain harvest to the centralized fund. Even with a maximum gross harvest of 150 million tonnes, provision of feed grain will not exceed 60 percent, i.e. there will again be the practice of handing out, transferring grain and returning to the state and the receipt of subsidies. In a word, it is essential in a final decision to give these issues additional study with the participation of the republics, krays and oblasts.

[Gorbachev] This part of the discussion as to how we will finish has to be thought about, with a clear understanding that if we stop at 60 percent, for example, or 80 percent in bringing in the [state] order, or rather, as it were, not bringing in but implementing the order through contracts, and the remainder, whether 40 or 20, depending what we agree—on meat, say, if we did that, can be sold freely—then you have to understand that this means that prices are going to go up, the retail prices, by 20 or 40 percent. You have to follow everything through to the end, logically. So, the plenum and the government are accountable for everything. It has to study the model to the very end.

[Vlasov] Of course, for there to be commitment and incentives....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] That has to be borne in mind.

[Announcer] Comrade Boldarev, first secretary of the Stavropol Kraykom, dwelt upon matters of creating a reliable mechanism for protecting the long-term interests of the peasants and the development of the social sphere in the countryside.

[Boldarev] Strengthening the financial state of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes has given them the chance to direct means earned in conditions of self-financing into social objectives. There is one more solid source of financing—this is the personal savings of those who live in the countryside. Workers in the villages willingly put their money into housing construction and actively embark upon setting up cooperatives with their personal finances going into laying gas and water pipelines and the building of roads. This is a good reserve for strengthening the social sphere of the countryside and, which is something particularly important to note, a great chance to reduce the country's budget deficit. The process of regenerating the countryside —and in the last 7 years there has been an addition of 67,000 people—is linked above all to its becoming younger. Young families, however, as is well known, are a low-waged category. For this reason, we are getting a dramatic rise in credit applications. If, however, last year, the kray was allocated R46 million credits for individual housing construction, this year, with a declared volume of R100 million, we have thus far been allocated R250,000. All our queries to Russia's Ministry of Finance are met with evasive answers, and the impression is formed that another attempt is under way to remedy the country's budget deficit at the expense of the rural areas. We understand that there are complications over the presence of material resources and are ourselves looking for opportunities to produce more of these locally and on this, it is absolutely impermissible that the union and republican bodies are not merely failing to back local initiative but are on the contrary stifling it by their actions.

[Announcer] On the rostrum is Comrade Makhkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party. He spoke of problems of fundamental significance to Tajikistan.

[Makhkamov] Of 565,000 hectares of irrigated arable land, about 320,000 are sown to cotton, while there is, as before, a shortage of land for the needs of the food complex. At the same time, cotton farming itself is in a difficult position. We are asking to be left 800,000 tonnes of cotton. We have a plan for 900,000. However, overall, if the scientific approach is taken, Tajikistan's maximum potential is for 700,000 tonnes of cotton. Leaseholding is going well for us. The people have understood that there will be good wages and that ouptut will increase. At the same time, the leaseholders are getting a per-hectare yield from the land that is 1.5, 2,

and in some cases 3 times higher than on the farms. However, another question arises. For those currently working in cotton production, wages have started to fall, and if we do not solve in the next year or two the problem of reviewing raw cotton prices, many people will stop producing cotton and move to vegetable and fruit production.

[Announcer] The floor is given to Natalya Vladimirovna Gellert, tractor driver from the Amalgelda state farm, Kurgaldzhinskiy Rayon, Tselinograd Oblast.

[Gellert] One would like to believe that we really will be given the right to behave as masters in dealing with our fields, that we will be entrusted with equipment and that our labor will be judged according to its end results, and that the appropriate laws will be adopted for this. When we have received these long-awaited rights will we be able tomorrow to fill the elevators to the brim with Soviet-grown grain, or be able to feed our children with milk in abundance? No, because wherever you cast an appraising glance everything requires reexamination and recalculation. In our region, for example, it is extremely necessary to carry out an inventory of land. Judge for yourself: in Tselinograd Oblast there are 190,000 hectares of rock-strewn land. Also, 112,000 hectares of saline land have been erroneously included as arable land, and it is totally barren land.

And now a few questions. I was asked to raise them at the plenum by machine operators and team leaders from a number of virgin land farms with whom I had long conversations before setting out for Moscow. How long will the town continue to supply the countryside with poor quality and unreliable equipment? We are also concerned at the continuing practice of laudatory campaigns in agriculture. Take lease-holding for instance. The press has not yet carried a single piece of criticism, just praise and more praise. But can this really be so? Where is glasnost? Can there be one single recipe for both a small Non-Chernozem field and for a 200-400 hectare field on virgin land?

[Announcer] At the rostrum is the writer Anatoliy Ananyev, chief editor of the magazine OKTYABR.

[Ananyev] I would like to move on to a very important and I think the most important question, the question of intra farm lease holding. Intra farm lease holding is, of course, a step forward, a large step from the state in which agriculture finds itself today. But we should really consider whether this intra farm lease holding really can provide us with the wished-for result that we desire or whether the feeling of being master will remain more in our imaginations than in the hearts of the peasant. I do not know, but it seems to me, in my view, that with intra farm lease holding there still remains the administrative and command method; it is preserved there as a living structure. If I now wished to fantasize as a writer who expresses his ideas, you would probably say well, then, a writer can fantasize, even though literature and the writer do not fantasize more than life; you can never go furhter than life. No writer has ever fantasized more than life.

[Announcer] At the rostrum is Comrade Vyalyas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee.

The agrarian complex, the speaker stated, is priority number one. It cannot be good for the country if it is bad for the peasant.

[Vyalyas] We link the improvement of the situation in agriculture just as in other spheres of the economy with the implementation of republican financial autonomy. The concept of this determines that each agricultural enterprise, as a socialist goods-producer, shapes its relations with other enterprises and organizations on the principles of equivalent exchange in accordance with market laws.

A few thoughts in this connection: firstly, we are concerned at the question of price formation for animal husbandry produce purchased in the republic by the state in accordance with state orders. Yes, the state order is one of today's realities and we support it. Zonal differentiations in accordance with actual production costs and also the system of additions to purchase prices which give advantages to farms and regions with relatively low production efficiency undermine the normative financial autonomy guidelines and incentives. The incorrect price policy induces farms to bring pigs and cattle to unjustifiably high weight conditions, that is to transform grain in short supply into fat which is not needed by anyone.

The production of food protein in the conditions of the republic depends directly on the relationship between the production of milk and meat. The task of producing more meat at any cost in conditions of a shortage of one's own fodder supplies and in conditions of the limited nature of the country's grain resources lead to a general reduction in the efficiency of animal husbandry in the republic. We have good breeding cattle. There could be considerably more of them than other repulics have been receiving up to now, but due to the intensive deliveries to the union stocks, we are obliged to send our breeding animals to the meat combine. Does a good manager behave in this way? This bureaucratic system must be resolutely broken here.

Dear comrades, the decisions of our plenum will open up....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Vayno Iosipovich, surely this theme which was raised by Boldarev and which you, too, have raised, I think that, on the basis of financially autonomous direct links between republics and oblasts, it should be the case that if you want to have good cattle then carry out exchanges either from local resources, from monetary ones, and so on.

[Announcer] Then the floor is given to Comrae Popov, first secretary of the Altay Kraykom. The speaker stressed that the main idea of economic reform in the agroindustrial complex should be to restore the workers to the right of genuine master of the land. He noted that the necessary forms for organizing production and payments for work have already been found and sufficiently tested. Then comrade Popov said in part:

[Popov] Now hardly anyone has any doubts that cooperatives and leaseholding—within the framework of collective and state farms which by the way should be the basis of the agroindustrial complex, and there should be no other discussions—are capable of ensuring the required rates of development of agriculture. But to ensure the rapid spread of these forms it is essential to eliminate the contradictions which arise between dynamic leaseholders and members of cooperatives on the one hand and the collective and state farms which are constrained within the framewirk of administrative and command methods.

[Announcer] Comrade Grintsov, secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, emphasized that the about-turn toward economic methods of running the economy, toward, above all, financial autonomy relations, was already yielding the first positive results.

[Grintsov] The USSR State Planning Comittee must work out scientifically-based norms for deliveries of grain, livestock breeding and other produce, taking account of the specific natural and economic features of various regions of the country, of the structure of the population and the structure of agricultural production. It is our view that the initial base for detyermining the volume of production and deliveries of output that has been ordered for the all- union funds for the 13th 5-year Plan needs to be made more precise. This is because the financial position of farms depends on plans being realistic. We proceed, after all, on the premise that plans ought to be realistic and balanced for the 5-year plan and they must, without fail, be backed up with material and technical resources. It is our view that prices should represent the factor that encourages sales over and above what has been ordered.

[Announcer] Comrade Grintsov dwelt further on issues which require a comprehensive approach to be solved. Nina Vasilyevna Pereverzeva, agricultural machinery operator from the Put Lenina Collective Farm in Rostov Oblast is on the rostrum.

[Pereverzeva] It is precisely us, the peasants, that feel simply hurt. You ask yourself the question why is it that things have turned out this way. In our motherland from time immemorial the peasant bore upon his shoulders enormous labor. The peasant's labor supplied towns, the industry, science with all the raw materials and it supplied man with everything that is essential for survival. In all likelihood, there is simply one answer to this question and one alone: in all likelihood, it is because we have forgotten—and this has been the case for years and years—to consult the peasant; we have forgotten to ask him what his views are. And now that we are faced with the question whether the collective farm is to be or not to be, I, as a simple collective farm woman, feel a bit fearful, you know. It is terrible even to contemplate this, let alone to speak of this or to write about this to someone or other. And so, the question arises: What will the people who devoted their lives to establishing collective farms say to us; what indeed? Or take all these experiences—it is simply that we the Soviet people must, it seems to me, go for and find other ways and other forms of management and this must be done precisely now.

The question has been posed here today of the lands which have become orphaned. As a grain grower and a woman I simply feel painfully hurt, you know, when I think that land has become nobody's indeed. We know that resources are being made available to build a road and to send people there, but, all the same, they are too little.

[Announcer] Comrade Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production, spoke of the problems of increasing the production of mineral fertilizers and of a balanced and precise use of them in the fields.

[Olshanskiy] It seems to us that to simply increase the production of chemical and mineral fertilizers is a path that is at present not altogether correct. It is necessary to arrive at a balance between the chemical and organic fertilizers and sapropel and peat. One must really tackle the matter of having soil deoxidized. It is necessary to change decisively the imbalance between the application of mineral fertilizers and the application of plant protection agents. The results of the latest land inspection show that in a majority of the country's regions farming is done in conditions of decreasing fertility and imbalance of nutrients.

It appears advisable, in this context, to support the proposal that the existing scientific, production, and technical potential of relevant ministries and departments should be united within a single, specialized, national economy complex and that its efforts ought to be directed toward solving the problem of raising land fertility. The state concern ought to work hand in hand with collective and state farms, cooperatives, with leaseholding and subcontracted collectives on a comprehensive procurement and processing of minerals and pesticides only upon contractual basis and within the framework of self-financing and hard currency recoupment.

Comrades, now for some ecological issues. Here, we have no alternative other than one direction: To set up ecologically-pure production and to equip the existing production facilities with installations which protect nature. This is the sole path.

[Announcer] The floor is given to Comrade Kukhar, chairman of the union council of collective farms.

[Kukhar] We are saying that we are granting freedom to the peasant, that we guarantee to him, the collective farm worker, the freedom to work. And this is indeed so. We have, so to speak, adopted a law on the cooperative movement in the USSR. A model charter has been adopted for the collective farms on the basis of which charters are now being worked out for each collective farm.

But comrades, why is it that not all are adhering to the law, not all, so to speak, are paying attention to the model charter? We are told today that your model charter is not, so to speak, a document for us. We turned to the Supreme Soviet Presidium to give to the model charter the deed of a legal document. We were told that this alternative does not exist. It cannot be done. But the collective farmers are demanding it, comrades, because a charter is always closer than a law. This question must be solved. This was the instruction of our collective farm members.

Collective farms must be protected on questions of social insurance and security. Much was promised to us once, they kept assuring us and providing guarantees that the question of pensions will be resolved and that all will be in keeping with those matters and those conditions of life of our pensioners, which are enjoyed by workers and employees in the towns and in the industry. These differences have not been removed now. But to what degree is it possible to keep deceiving the collective farms in this respect and for the state not to take measures. Therefore we stand for raising [word indistinct] and measures are now being taken in collective farms, in many collective farms, where there are additions—and good additions to the pensions—on the account of collective farms.

But comrades, it is necessary that this question be resolved, and since they gave their word, then it should be resolved in a just way.

[Announcer] Academician Nikonov, Academy of Agricultural Sciences Imeni V.I. Lenin president, said in his address:

[Nikonov] A most difficult problem which science is directly concerned with is how to bring our agrarian economy out from the extensive and high-cost state and how to turn it into an effective science-intensive sphere. As it was already correctly said here, for this it is necessary to have first of all a man motivated by an incentive, modern means of production, strict observance of prices parity and, of course, science. Its role is growing sharply now. It must be strong. And the report spoke correctly about its shortcomings, and the comrades who spoke were also correct in their criticism.

We have many shortcomings; sluggishness, lagging behind world standards, and great debts in socioeconomic and biological problems. In the course of restructuring, many new forms and organizations at various levels are now coming into being, starting from the primary labor collective and going higher up, in various conditions of our country. And we are not managing to get to know them properly. And in this respect we are always seized by double danger: to overevaluate or underevaluate something, to omit it or not give it a timely support. We are beginning to be very seriously involved in the lease contracting. In the very near future the collection and state farms will obtain our lease contractors, they will receive a lot of materials and assistance on lease contracting. The academy and its scientific collectives have at their disposal a substantial stock of scientific studies and developments. And progressively minded leaders are intensively utilizing science. And we are gaining a lot from this.

We are still lacking the incentive mechanisms and more active perceptions of scientific data. Lease contracting and financial autonomy will give a nudge and are nudging us (?in this).

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev gave the concluding speech at the plenum. The plenum then discussed and adopted a corresponding decision.

Gorbachev Gives Plenum Concluding Speech

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[From the "Vremya" newscast; concluding speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the 16 March CPSU Central Committee Plenum session in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] I think that the debate which took place at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, combined with the vast amount of work done in the context of preparing for this Central Committee plenum, permits us to say again that we are really discussing—and have now approached the stage of adopting decisions on a major problem—perhaps the most vexing problem of our social development and our life today. I think that the thrust of the agrarian policy set out in the report which, one way or another, is in harmony with the basic provisions of the documents that are at your disposal and is supported by the Central Committee members and those taking part here. All the same, I believe that the many critical remarks, opinions, and wishes voiced here are to a considerable extent just or are still such that they need to be worked on. But because they are, after all, mostly individual problems, they do not invalidate the main point: To really stimulate the development of our agrarian sector we must take cardinal measures in the policy area. We can see—and it seems to me that this is supported by the party Central Committee—that this thrust is connected with a cardinal restructuring of economic relations in the countryside. That is not to

invalidate the importance of the fact that the material base and the provision of social facilities in the countryside are very important and topical and that all these issues must be tackled as a package. And, overall, we must implement a whole large package of interrelated major and cardinal measures which should provide powerful stimuli for our agrarian sector and alter the situation for the better—and alter the supply of foodstuffs. But in this package, the key position, the key question, the starting point, comrades, is, all the same, the restructuring of ownership relations, of production relations and, on that basis, switching to the most diverse forms that provide an opportunity to realize the potential inherent both in the kolkhoz system and in socialist ownership.

Then there is the fundamental restructuring—I would not even say restructuring, but so to speak renunciation—of management command methods in the agrarian complex, which will make up the major element in the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

In my view this is the core of the new policy. This is a radical change of direction which makes it possible to return the person in the agrarian sector as someone in total charge of the land. This is the point of departure. If this does not happen then frankly nothing will come of this.

Also, the prestige of the peasant's work must be raised and the position of the peasantry and agricultural workers in society must be changed for the better through more correct, harmonious relations. This meets the Leninist concept which includes as a major element the concept of building socialism, the creation of a new society, an alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and proper relations between town and countryside. And this—in fact, it seems to me—constitutes a major element which imparts to the proposals, which we submitted for examination to the plenum, I would say a fundamental nature, making it a turning point.

If we agree with you on this then comrades, we can make decisions. I want to repeat: The countryside needs great care and large-scale aid. First of all it needs what I have said: the possibility for work and initiative. People's work with initiative must be opened up so that they feel themselves to be in charge, feel themselves to be in total charge.

That is the first thing.

Second, it seems to me that if we now said that by means of these documents we resolve everything, well, this would not be correct. After all, we must set political aims, political guidelines. In this connection I also want to say that probably according to our little red book, which contains precisely these political aims, this document must be freed of what is still the burden of so to speak, outright economic directives—in order to make it more political, to impart to it more of a guiding nature, and to remove direct instructions which even go as far as the Ministry of Finance, etc.

That is why after this plenum I would like the comrades to leave feeling that we are indeed achieving a different level of understanding on agrarian problems, of their importance, and to a different level of work to restructure our agrarian sector, primarily on the basis of a radical restructuring of production and economic relations in the countryside.

That is the second thing I wanted to say. The third is this. There are questions that arouse, have aroused, discussion: the union and the republic, the republic and the oblasts, the state order [goszakaz] and the independence of the kolkhoz, etc. I think these are things that have been noted as realities but have not been fully clarified and which have not been thoroughly worked through in these documents. I do think that if we proceed from the recognition of the economic independence of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and if we decide to dismantle the command system that has been managing and commanding the agrarian sector at the level of the rayon, oblast, and republic, it will be a turning point that will create a new situation. And if we supplement that with the idea that the state order—and that means that the state's requirements—must be met on a basis of contracting, contract relations, and contacts, as is now happening in Czechoslovakia, where they sometimes approach these matters several times constantly elucidating the needs of society and how to solve them through agrarian sector channels. These are the most fundamental issues: food issues.

I think these documents and this new situation that we will create provide a basis for restructuring our approaches to this—for restructuring them radically. If we see once we get to work on them specific matters—after all, at the plenum we are resolving things in principle—then all such specific topics will have to be pondered. I think this will give us a chance to finish thinking through all these particular questions and that should not bother us. That is the opinion I have formed.

There are certain things, comrades, that we need to settle with special care and deliberation. They say Comrade Brazauskas said this and it stuck in my mind that the republics must settle the matter of prices.

But what if our prices run riot throughout the union? That's why there are questions that shouldn't be hurried. I don't even know yet. In a special report this formula was discussed in the Politburo and the government—we set forth the general opinion regarding the review, changes in approaches to setting the prices of potatoes, fruits, and vegetables. The experience of everyone, both the Western countries and our friends in the socialist countries, has shown that they have all gone over to contractual pricing procedures because it is all highly seasonal, highly specific, and highly localized. It is all

something requiring frequent change at local levels in order to sell, to stop it disappearing, to maintain prices. Otherwise, none of it is attainable. No doubt decentralization is needed here. For our people to be guaranteed that even in this area—after all, it is fruit and vegetables, all very valuable produce—that anarchy not reign her, so to speak, there must also be mechanisms here. The mechanisms, as I've said, must evidently either be determined at the local level, by the ceilings. Incidentally, all the experience of the socialist countries has shown that over a period of 2-3 years, the situation for all of them regarding vegetables and fruits became normal and prices even fell.

In general, everything that relates to prices must be approached, comrades, in a very responsible manner. I gather from the speech by Academician Lukinov that we all understand this in principle. I do not want to denigrate those other representatives of our greater science or sector science, but at a certain stage after discussions in society we have all come to the conclusion, I think—and it is our common opinion that there is a consensus of sorts within society—that prices should not be touched now. For it would be such a road such as attempting to solve real problems and saying that they need solving via prices only through an onslaught on the interests of people. Then, I think, people would simply not understand. We have not yet increased the market, the overall, internal market, as regards goods and food. We have not yet adopted cardinal measures to bring order to the country's financial situation. We are; such measures are being implemented. Everyone had a part in this including representatives of all the republics, and we will implement them. I think that once we have passed that stage—and I think that we have calculated it and that's why we've said this—we must work for 2-3 years to improve the situation in some way, all the same as regards the economy, the financial situation, and the market as a whole is concerned. And then, comrades, we will not be able to advance in the reform without solving the matter of prices.

I think that this was a difficult discussion. Moreover, it was conducted in a very heated manner in society. But it was not useless, and we concluded that we now have to approach things this way. This is what I said in my report, proceeding from the fact that I understood this is already the general opinion, both of the public and our scientists and of the political leadership and the government. I wanted to touch on that subject again so we are clear on that point. Yes, I want to repeat it. If, when the time comes, and it will come undoubtedly, comrades, it will come because price setting in our country is thoroughly confused and we have to solve the problem in the interests of enterprises and of all sectors and in the interest of the republics. It is necessary to have good, harmonious relations. This must be done. When we get there we will come forward with these proposals without fail for social discussion. This is the kind of question it is necessary to resolve in society. Our people must know and be sure about this. This was also a question I wanted to touch on.

Naturally, comrades, there was a question which was critical here at the plenum as it is in life: the country, the structure of rural life, the organization of those people living in the country and of rural workers. It is a cardinal question. I think that what we have already begun in this direction, what we are laying down, and what is reflected in our projects relating to social reorganization is a great step. I would only say that, perhaps, our resolution of matters of communal organization, and this is a large question, and of heating in the village—these questions require work to be completed.

Probably you turned to this sentence in the report and it would seem that it is of a technical nature. But this is not by chance because it refers to social policy. Nevertheless in the world, you understand, people have not followed the path of creating networks, channels and so on and so on for all communications; they have followed the path of creating autonomous systems. And they have reached a solution. This is done, comrades, in states with small territories. Take the FRG, and look how the question is resolved there. There everything is autonomous. It occurs to me, Comrade Batalin, that we must study the experience of the world and our state construction committee. This is a specific requirement.

We will make mistakes. We made mistakes when we applied many methods that we took from industry and transferred automatically. We shall be committing a particularly gross error if we transfer everything that we have done in the towns, in reorganizing, and in housing construction, providing social amenities, and to resolving matters relating to public services. Probably many beneficial things that there are in towns have to be tackled, too. New methods are required there. In this respect the State Construction Committee is lagging behind. Although there are many illustrations and they have already been looked at enough in the past 10 years. But there are still no well thought out and long-term solutions. Some work has to be done. I'll put it like this comrades: All this has to be tackled.

Yes, in connection with this, comrades, the matter has been very much raised about credits for construction on an individual basis. We gave R40 billion, didn't we? Instead of the planned 20 billion, we gave 40 billion. What did this show? It showed the scale of the problem and revealed the real stake that the rural resident has in providing himself with an individual house, a farmstead. This can only be welcomed. True, there were some incidents when people took out a loan for a house and bought a car, a television, and so on. The people are quick to...[Gorbachev changes thought] We have found financial ways of controlling this business. That is something else. But they have a real stake in this. And, comrades, it is not even so much a matter of credit. Even today we cannot [supply] the base; credit is one thing, but we have to give bricks, cement, timber, and so on. We are thinking about this problem. The market turnover in goods will increase. This has to be looked at again. We shall be working on this. However, I very

much welcome such approaches. I was in the Ukraine. It's good to listen, and you can see two different approaches at the same time before you. We arrived at a mining equipment works—is that what it was called, machine building?

[Voice] Leninskiy Komsomol works.

[Gorbachev] The Leninskiy Komsomol works. The housing situation is under great pressure. But the director thought, well, I could complain, shed tears, travel to Kiev, and have a cry there, too, on the spot. That's one way. This can be done and many do make use of this. Maybe this relieves the nervous system.

But what has the director decided? We, the machine builders, can make the moulds ourselves. And they set off on monolithic construction, monolithic construction. You've built one house, then build another two. The building work is under way. That's one approach. Isn't that the approach the comrades in Kazakhstan demonstrated when they put everything into it they could and said: Let us work. We'll get people to work a third shift, extra hours, on their days off to get more construction materials, cement, etc. Factories were involved so that they made their contribution and things advanced. So, in other instances, they got together and the brick factories started to be built or restored, and building materials appeared.

So, comrades, let us act like this. There are things that are beyond a collective. There are things that will have to be decided through the state channels and state ventures but let us take off the fetters and encourage initiative, give people some backing. This isn't always so easy but it will provide the chance to solve some matters today.

Finally, it is possible to argue whether to transfer money from the cities to the villages but, again, it's not a matter of money but of these things. I would recall and propose the experience of the people of Orel. There can, comrades, be no getting away from discussing the situation at the local level, with the working class and the peasantry of whatever oblast or republic, and agreeing: Let's try to bring things up to scratch for 2 or 3 years and we will solve these issues. The people will respond. This, you understand, isn't something for us to solve here. It has to be done there. What's needed is for us to have our say again at the plenum. We've talked about it already and in Orel, or Kazakhstan, or wherever, people could use this political recommendation as a base. I think everyone can do likewise. In the end, when all at once all of Lithuania was restructured, you know, the towns helped, all the towns, everyone was involved. It was a republic of farmsteads. But look at the settlements and how everything was done! I'm always remembering Comrade Snechkus who was at the source of this approach. It became a completely different republic, a completely different way of life. I think people are trying to get out of the towns now, to go and live in the country, you see, for it was a fine solution to the matter.

Such approaches can be found in other places, too. Let us, comrades, having returned, take such an approach everywhere. People are supporting it and one must do so. I do not think, and I will say this frankly, that we should put it this way: Stop all the construction in the cities and turn everything around. No, comrades. I think that we should give priority and lend support in the early years, but we have very many blatant problems concerning the everyday living conditions of the working class. I was in Krasnoyarsk and saw this. I was in other cities and these problems are everywhere. So if one is to put the issue like that, bluntly, that all should be stopped in the cities and all should be sent to the countryside, that would probably be wrong.

We will not do that. No. One must, and we have the opportunities comrades, take things in hand on a combination basis and, all the same, give priority to the countryside—before people abandon the land. They need support. The rest will return and want to return. Therefore, we must find a solution and, best of all, we must seek it there in the localities. I think that the very first person who spoke, Comrade Potapov, and others raised the matter that we had to immediately broach at this plenum matters of realization, of fulfillment of our major programs, and reach an agreement. Many of our programs have been threatened because they are not being realized. A primary major Soviet program, that of machine building, is behind schedule. Social issues have advanced strongly but are also lagging behind; and we have allocated resources to turn our economy toward people and to solve the most vital issues of backwardness. We have progressed at the expense of defense; we have already started reducing missiles, etc. We allocated R6 billion to health. But these resources are not being utilized everywhere. I think we need an immense turn toward the social reorganization of the countryside—there is, after all, industrial construction there, too. If we do not resolve the matter in a practical way, I will tell you that we will stand bankrupt before our people and this will hit restructuring.

I therefore put the implementation of that program in first place, comrades. And that is the most important thing, the main thing. And no one must stand on the sidelines on this. If they now start dissembling over these documents, and start leaving the peasant and the rural toiler, the sovkhozes and kolkhozes to solve all the problems for themselves, then this plenum and all the debates that have preceded it and all the documents that we adopt here are worth nothing.

We must agree on this. It concerns the whole nation. And you must do it, not wait for someone to prod you in the ribs to get you to decide on the questions that flow from these decisions. This must be done according to conscience, with the realization that this is the central issue, the cardinal issue of our domestic policy.

In these conditions, the party must do a vast amount of work in explaining that policy. It has an enormous

amount of work to do among our cadres in assimilating all that these resolutions open up and explaining how our cadres have got to act.

Finally, we must think about—and I want to say this with [Gorgachev pauses] special sincerity—the fact that we simply must tackle these things in such a way that the toilers of the countryside, our peasantry, can feel that the party is at their side now at this stage, that the party is aware that it has proposed a policy and is, together with them, raising the whole of society so that we can attain our targets and take new approaches. That is very important, comrades.

Today we heard from Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Malkov, the Chita first secretary. But after all—I'll put it to you this way—you can talk about approaches, successes, and failures in that oblast, but that oblast was flat on its back. Now, it is becoming dynamic. It is beginning to improve. The mood of the people is changing. And the soul of all these undertakings—in what is a very difficult, most difficult oblast in every respect—are the communists and the party organization.

Great legal, political, and economic prerequisites are being established in order to get this work going now and the party must take upon itself an enormous organizational task and provide the ideological backing for the new agrarian policy.

Comrades, allow me to wish all of you success in this and to wish us all success. [applause]

More on Gorbachev Concluding Speech

PM1803193789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Concluding Speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the 16 March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrades!

I think that the debate which took place at the party Central Committee plenum, coupled with the enormous amount of work done within the framework of preparation for the plenum, enables us to say yet again that we really are discussing, and are at the point of making decisions on, the most crucial and maybe most vexing problem of our society's development.

Judging by the speeches, the main thrust of the agrarian policy, which is outlined in the report and is, in one way or another, in line with the basic provisions contained in the documents at your disposal, is supported by Central Committee members and all who are taking part in the plenum's work.

Many of the critical remarks, opinions, and wishes expressed here are, to a considerable extent, fair. There are a number of individual and specific issues. Further work must be done on them but they do not invalidate the main point: We must embark on radical political measures in order to give a real impetus to the development of our agrarian sector. This thrust is associated with fundamental restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

Great importance is attached to the material base and social amenities in the countryside. All these questions must be solved as a package. We must adopt and implement a series of interlinked, major, and radical measures. Nevertheless, the key position and starting point in this package, comrades, is still the restructuring of ownership relations, the restructuring of production relations, the utilization of the most diverse forms which would provide an opportunity to realize the potential inherent in the kolkhoz system and in socialist ownership. And simultaneously there must be a renunciation of edict methods in the management of the agrarian complex, which would constitute the most important element of the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

This, in my view, is the nucleus of the new agrarian policy. This is a fundamental turnabout which will make it possible to restore man's position as master of the land. Unless this happens, bluntly speaking, nothing will come out of it. Generally speaking, it is necessary to enhance the prestige of peasants' labor and change for the better the position of the peasantry and agricultural working people. We must establish more harmonious relations between city and countryside, which would correspond with Lenin's concept of socialism and the course of strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. It is this most important political objective that would make the plenum decisions crucial, I would say.

Let me emphasize once more: The countryside needs major attention, it needs major and diverse assistance. But its primary need is to provide opportunities for enterprising work by people who would really feel that they are masters. This is first.

Second. Documents just by themselves, even the best ones, cannot accomplish anything. Enormous work lies ahead. I think, however, that today we are laying the substantive foundations of a new agrarian policy. Work along this avenue must begin without any delay.

I would not like comrades to leave here with a sense of disappointment that not all questions were answered. The plenum must provide primarily political directives, political guidelines. In this context I would like to say that in all likelihood the plenum's main document must be relieved of the burden of direct economic directives. It must be given a political and guiding nature. This must be formulated in the shape of political precepts which would lay the tracks to be subsequently followed by the government and all our departments.

I would like plenum participants to thoroughly realize that we are really scaling new heights in the perception of agrarian problems, a fundamentally new level of work on the restructuring of our agrarian sector primarily on the basis of fundamental renewal of production and economic relations in the countryside.

Third. There are matters which gave rise to debate.

They concern mutual relations between the Union and the republics and between the republics and the oblasts, the question of interrelationships between state orders and the autonomy of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and enterprises. I think it was right to raise these matters since they have not been finally clarified. Additional work still has to be done on them.

I think that if we were to proceed from recognition of the economic autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, if we were to adopt decisions on dismantling the edict system which functioned in the agrarian sector at rayon, oblast, and republic level, this would already constitute a turnabout which would create a completely different situation—including state orders. This means that the state's needs must be resolved on the basis of deals and contracts as in Czechoslovakia. People there thoroughly clarify all of society's needs and the ways to take them into account and satisfy through agrarian sector channels. These are most fundamental questions. The plenum documents and the new situation which we will create constitute the reliable base for restructuring our approaches in agrarian policy.

Some questions of a specific nature may arise while these documents are being elaborated—after all, all our decisions at the plenum are on matters of principle. Thought must be given to this specific nature.

There are issues which must be resolved with special care and consideration. For example, Comrade Brazauskas said that prices for agricultural produce must be set by republican organs. But would it be right, comrades, if prices were "given free rein" [zagulyayut] all over the Union? Not a single society allows itself such a thing. Not a single one. They all regulate—they all have developed quite precise mechanisms.

In a nutshell, there are questions which do not lend themselves to hasty solutions. This does not mean that local organs must remain uninvolved in the formation of prices for some types of produce such as, for example, potatoes, fruit, and vegetables. The experience of Western countries and of our friends in the socialist countries shows that it is expedient to set contract prices for seasonal produce at local level. But even so our people must have guaranteed protection against price anarchy.

Everything concerning retail prices, comrades, must be approached with great responsibility. This is how I understood in principle the statement by Academician Lukinov. At some stage following the debate within society we all drew the conclusion that prices should not be touched now. Because this would constitute an attempt to resolve really substantive matters merely through prices and maybe even at the expense of people's interests. People would not understand such a step.

We still have to fully supply the market with goods and foodstuffs. We still have to adopt radical measures for the imposition of order in the country's financial position. Such measures are just around the corner. Representatives of all republics participated in their elaboration. We will also implement them jointly. It will take 2-3 years' additional work to improve the health of the situation—regarding the economy, the financial situation, and the market in general. Only then will we be in a position to raise the question of prices.

I think that this was a difficult debate, it was conducted with great passion within society and proved far from useless. We—the public, the scientific community, the political leadership, and the government—arrived at a joint and unanimous conclusion. I would like us to be clear on this issue. When the time for price reform comes—and price formation in our country is basically fairly complex—we will certainly submit proposals for the broadest possible discussion. This is a matter to be resolved by the entire society. Soviet people must be confident that no such decisions will be made without them.

The plenum also raised other matters which are acutely vital: the countryside, the way of rural life, the amenities for people in the countryside and rural working people. These are urgent matters. I think that everything we are already doing along this avenue and everything we intend to do, as reflected in our plans for the social restructuring of the countryside—all this already constitutes a tremendous step forward.

I would only say that maybe the solution of the matters of communal facilities in the countryside requires additional work. You obviously noticed that part of the report. This may be a technical problem, but it has a direct effect on social policy. For example, elsewhere in the world the agrarian sector has not taken the path of installing centralized heat supply networks and other main services, but the path of creating autonomous systems. And this is being done not only in large but also in small countries where it would seem easier than in our country to lay down such main services. I think that we need to study the world's experience. Our Gosstroy's attention must be drawn to this.

We already made a mistake when many industrial methods were mechanically transplanted to the countryside, and we will commit a gross mistake if we were to take everything we do in cities and mechanically transplant it to housing construction and the provision of social amenities in the countryside, to the solution of problems relating to public services. Much in the city is useful, but the countryside nevertheless demands a special

approach. The Gosstroy is lagging in this regard. There are sundry projects and plans aplenty, but there are still no considered and promising solutions. Additional work must be done.

A very important matter was raised concerning credits for individual construction work. This year they have doubled compared with last year—the sum appropriated runs to R40 billion instead of R20 billion. What does this indicate? It indicates the size of the problem and brings to light the real interest of rural residents in acquiring an individual home or farmstead. And this interest can only be welcomed! True enough, there were also cases when people obtained credit for a home but bought a car or a television set instead.... Some tried to be clever. The appropriate financial control measures were devised. But this is not so much a matter of just credit. Bricks, cement, and timber must also be supplied. Now we are pondering this problem with a view to even supplying construction materials through the market—this will also boost the commodity turnover. We will work along this avenue. I welcome such approaches.

I recall my recent trip to the Ukraine. We arrived at the Donetsk mining and pit equipment plant. The housing situation is bad and strained there. The director thought about it: He could, of course, complain, he could run around shedding tears. He could go to Kiev and weep right there. This is one way, and maybe many people use it to relieve nervous stress. The director thought and pondered, and then decided otherwise. We are, after all, machine builders, we can build our own formworks. And the plant started developing construction using the method of casting on site [monolitnoye stroitelstvo]. They built one block, then another two, and it all took off!

There are things to be learned from the experience of the comrades in Kazakhstan who mobilized everything possible, got people to work three shifts, on overtime and on their days off, so as to produce more construction materials and cement. The plants were also involved and also made their contribution. And things started getting done. In Lvov, for example, people got down to building work and restored the abandoned brick plants. They produced their own construction materials. Let us then, comrades, apply the same initiative everywhere.

There are matters which are beyond any single collective—they require solution along state lines and state measures. Let us unfetter and encourage initiative, let us support people.

It is, of course, possible to argue: Who should receive more money, cities or the countryside? This is again not a matter of money. At this point I would again recall and suggest using the experience of people in Orel. We will not manage, comrades, without discussing the situation on the spot with the working class and the peasantry and agreeing: Let us now, for 2-3 years, boost the countryside. And the people will respond. This, you realize, must be decided not in Moscow but locally, in the oblasts and republics, and relying on the plenum's political recommendations.

Lithuania, for example, took that road some time ago. The cities helped, everyone was involved. It used to be a republic of farmsteads, and what farmsteads, but now—beautiful settlements. And the farmsteads are quite different. I recall Comrade Snechkus who was among the originators of this movement. A completely different republic, a completely different way of life! I think that people are moving from cities to the countryside, so wonderfully have the problems of rural life been resolved there. Similar approaches have been adopted elsewhere. So, comrades, let us adopt this approach everywhere when we get back home. People will support us.

Let me say bluntly, we cannot halt construction in the cities and channel everything to the countryside. We have many urgent problems concerning consumer services and living conditions for the working class. I saw this for myself in Krasnoyarsk and in other cities. These problems exist everywhere.

It would probably be incorrect to say: Let us suspend construction work in the cities and channel everything into the countryside. We do have opportunities, comrades, to combine the countryside's priority with the solution of the city's problems on the basis of sensible combination of interests.

Starting with the first speaker, Comrade Potapov, the plenum has been discussing the issue of firmly raising the question of implementing and fulfilling our major programs and reaching agreement on this issue. Many of our programs are under the threat of nonfulfillment. Our country's largest program on machine building is also lagging behind. There are also delays in the solution of social problems even though there has been considerable advance. And yet we have appropriated major sums to gear our economy to man and solve the most urgent questions. We saved R6 billion through cutbacks in military expenditure and handed that money over to health care services. But these funds are not being assimilated everywhere.

If we were to behave in the same way when tackling the practical tasks of the tremendous turnabout in the social reorganization of the countryside and construction work for production purposes, let me tell you that we would bankrupt ourselves in the eyes of our own people. This would deal a blow to restructuring. This is why I put the matter of implementing the agrarian program first on the agenda, comrades. This is the most important, the main issue. Nobody should stand aloof. If people now start being clever about these documents, if the peasants, rural working people, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes are left to

tackle all problems by themselves—then the plenum, all our debate, and all the documents we adopt here will not have been worth anything. We must firmly agree on this issue.

The fulfillment of the plenum decision is a nationwide cause. Don't wait to be pushed. Everyone must do his job and solve the questions stemming for him from the plenum documents. One must act conscientiously, realizing that the implementation of the new agrarian policy is the central and crucial question of our domestic policy.

The party must do a tremendous amount of work to explain this policy and to ensure that our cadres assimilate everything outlined in the plenum decisions. Finally—and I would like to emphasize this in particular—it is simply incumbent upon us to organize matters so that rural working people, our peasantry may sense that the party is right with them, together with them at this difficult stage. That the party is aware of and has grasped the state of affairs, that it has suggested a new agrarian policy, and that it is rousing the whole of society to scale new heights. This is very important, comrades!

We had Chita Obkom Secretary Comrade Malkov speak here today. One could talk about the oblast's successes and failures. But until quite recently it was flat on its back. Now the oblast is becoming dynamic. Things are beginning to improve, people's moods are also changing. And it is the Communists and the oblast party organization that are the soul of all this work, of the changes in an oblast that is very difficult in every respect.

Major legal, political, and economic prerequisites are emerging today for advance in constructive work. The party must also take on the tremendous organizational activity and the ideological backing of the agrarian policy.

Let me wish you all success in this work, comrades. (Applause).

CPSU Central Committee Plenum Results Examined

News Conference Assesses Plenum

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[Report on 16 March news conference on results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in Moscow with Comrades Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Murakhovskiy (not further identified); Comrade Kapto, head of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate; individual correspondents identified where possible—recorded]

[Text] [Medvedev] Literally two or three sentences and the main information will be given by Comrade Ligachev. The plenum did indeed end an hour ago.

Over the 2 days, two questions were discussed and decided; the election of people's deputies from the CPSU were conducted, and the question of the tasks involved in implementing the CPSU's agrarian policy in contemporary conditions was discussed. The material on the first question has been published. The principle results of the elections are known: All 100 candidates have been elected who were nominated at the previous CPSU Central Committee Plenum. More detailed results of the elections will be published in accordance with the electoral law in 5 days' time. The report by Comrade Gorbachev on the second question on the agenda has also been published, and we hope that you have had time to familiarize yourselves with it. A summary of the speeches, the concluding remarks by Comrade Gorbachev, and the documents adopted by the plenum will be published in the days to come.

The comrades who have been introduced to you have been instructed to meet you, to comment on the results of the plenum, and to answer your questions.

[Ligachev] We have every reason, too, to say that the plenum truly determined agrarian policy for the period of restructuring, its objectives, basic directions, and principles.

At its plenum the party reaffirmed the socialist path of agricultural development and the reorganization of our countryside. It is the profound conviction of the plenum and of all our party that those ills which befell the kolkhozes and sovkhozes were connected with a retreat from socialism and were a distortion of the Leninist principles of socialist cooperation. The Central Committee plenum demonstrated with renewed vigor that the immense forces of self-renewal and the advancement of our society toward progress are inherent in socialism. Both in Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report and in those decisions adopted at the Central Committee plenum, which will be published in the press in the very near future, appraisals have been given of agrarian policy at various stages of the country's development, and the necessary lessons have been learned on this basis. What do they boil down to? First and foremost, to the fact that radical changes in the countryside, primarily in production relations in the villages, will be carried out in a strictly voluntary manner.

One of the lessons of our agrarian policy over a period of decades is also the fact that this time one must on no account allow it to be eroded. The price parity between the town and the countryside must be strictly observed, and one must also resolutely reject administrative command methods of management.

The plenum decided that the peasant must be placed at the center of agrarian policy, not in words but in deeds. We must do away with his alienation from the land and other means of production and strive for a truly authentic combination of individual, group, and public interests. If one asks the question of wherein lies the essence, speaking

briefly, of the contemporary CPSU agrarian policy, then one can give the following response in most condensed way: The agrarian policy includes a radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside in close connection—and I would like to stress this particularly—with scientific-technical progress, with the social transformation of the countryside, and with resolutely ending the command-and-administer system of management.

The plenum of the Central Committee most definitely advocated variety in management forms and in forms of socialist ownership. One is talking of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cooperative associations, agricultural combines, agricultural firms, peasant holdings, and subsidiary holdings of citizens and enterprises. Thereby the main volume of production of agricultural output is left to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In order to more fully reveal the immense potential possibilities which, in the opinion of the party Central Committee plenum, are built into the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system, the plenum considers it necessary to develop in every possible way leasing within production and within farms. In our opinion, kolkhozes and sovkhozes may in time become, cooperatives of lease and contract collectives. At the same time, and this is indicated in the plenum decisions, the creation of peasant labor holdings is also possible on the basis of lease contracting. Incidentally, considerable aid from the state is envisaged to this end. Attention was likewise drawn to the development of personal subsidiary holdings, and, I would say, to their close integration and close interaction by them with the public sector of production or, to put it another way, with kolhozes and sovkhozes. We consider that it is necessary to remove all manner of restrictions which exist for personal subsidiary holdings and to give them all possible help, in brief to give them room for development. I wish to remind you that today personal subsidiary holdings already produce 23 percent of the overall volume of agricultural output in our country. The management bodies of the agro-industrial complex at the level of rayons, oblasts, and krays—the soviets or unions, as they're called—will be built on a basis of appointment by election and on democratic principles by a small working apparatus [rabochiy apparat] determined by them. The gosagroprom in its present form has been abolished. The functions of the managing body of the agro-industrial complex have been radically altered, and they amount to roughly the following: Regulation of economic relations between subsections of the agro-industrial complex; the formation of the country's food stocks; the assimilation of the achievements of science and technology in production; and the development of external economic contacts.

The plenum has specified new principles of planning, pricing, and taxation in the country's agrarian sector. The Central Committee plenum has set the task of technically reequipping the peasant, providing for his social welfare and actively involving him in relations of financial autonomy and leasing. Incidentally, for this purpose it is intended to weave very serious changes into the investment structure of the agro-industrial complex, with stress on the social sphere, on equipping the peasant with the latest machinery, and on the construction of processing enterprises and roads in rural areas.

It is important—and the plenum very forcefully stressed this—to create modern conditions for the life and work of the peasant.

The peasant unfortunately earns less and receives a lower pension than the industrial worker; and the plenum has made a decision to remove that injustice in the very near future.

Issues concerning technological renewal, raising the quality of equipment and materials for agriculture and the food industry, and equally the all-round development of scientific research and the introduction of scientific developments into production were thoroughly examined at the plenum. You already know it from the press reports, but I would like to stress that sectors of the defense industry are being extensively involved in solving these questions, particularly the technical re- equipping of agriculture and the virtually complete or almost complete reconstruction of the food industry.

There are a lot of complications and difficulties along the road mapped out by the Central Committee plenum—the road to solving the food problem—and we have a clear understanding of this. First and foremost, the practice of levelling is firmly entrenched, and the habits of working at half speed, of administering by injunction, of applying noneconomic constraints with regard to the peasants.

We also know that we are limited in material and financial resources. We are not promising anyone rivers flowing with milk. We understand that it is impossible to change everything all at once, at a strike. But we are confident that we will change for the better the situation regarding food and will do this in the main during the forthcoming 13th 5-Year Plan period. Figuratively speaking—and of this we are absolutely confident—there will be festivities in our street, too: We are capable of solving and we can solve the food problem and we shall do this only through labor, through the labor of the whole people, of the whole of our party and the whole of our society.

[Gerasimov] Thank you very much, Yegor Kuzmich. Let's move on to your questions now.

[(Al-Hashan)] (Al-Hashan), AL-ITTIHAD newspaper of the United Arab Emirates. a question for Mr Medvedev: At the present moment the situation in the Soviet Union seems to me to have developed like a river with two shores: One shore is the period of stagnation, the other is the shore of restructuring. The Soviet people now wants to sail to the shore of restructuring but it has been sailing for more than 3 years now and simply cannot get there. What's stopping them?

[Medvedev] A graphic question, but it seems to me that in that question, even in the way it is phrased, lies something with which it is impossible to agree. It is impossible to agree that our country will not reach the shore of restructuring. I would have said, continuing the analogy you used, that not only have we reached the shore of restructuring, but we are walking upon that shore with fairly confident steps.

Is there any need to prove this? I think that the present plenum is a clear demonstration of it. It is demonstrated in the implementation of our political reform. Since the 19th party conference we have undertaken a great many important practical steps in that direciton, in democratizing our electoral system. There has never been such an energetic election campaign as that now in process in the history of our country. Can this really not be the result of restructuring? Can it really not be evidence that we are walking on that shore and are standing firm on the soil of restructuring?

Economic reform is also moving ahead, albeit not without problems or contradictions. It is gathering speed confidently. Of course, there are problems as well; of course there are contradictions; there are in any movement. I would even say that the faster the movement, the more problems, contradictions, and difficulties are encountered along the way. There is, of course, internal resistence from bodies of opinion here and there, from this or that tendency. There are also attempts, headlong advances without a backward glance, to solve certain problems at one fell swoop. We have all this, but that in itself is a testimony to the fact that we are moving forward.

[Hungarian television journalist] A question from Hungarian Television for Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev. In your introduction, you spoke of the variety of forms of ownership in the countryside and mentioned peasant holdings. My question is: Does putting the matter like this envisage peasant families holding land privately?

[Ligachev] Again I repeat that the party Central Committee plenum spoke in favor of a variety of forms of economic management and socialist ownership. The possibility is also envisaged of setting up individual peasant holdings, as we've called them: To make it clear, they are often called farmers' holdings.

The land was, is, and will remain state property. In general, too, everything that is handed over to the farmer—the land and the means of ownership—will remain the state's or rather the lease giver's. All that the farmer creates by exploiting these means of production will remain the property of the lease holder.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English] A question from the IRISH TIMES to Mr Ligachev. [announcer's translation] There have been quite a lot of reports in the press recently about obstacles that arise in the way of people who would like to become lessees. Could you tell us what changes have now taken place for these people? What words of inspiration can you say to someone who would like to take a lease? And when can he really count on getting a lease, in 15 years or in what other period of time? Can that lease be extended to members of his family, to his son, for example?

[Ligachev] In accordance with the decisions on the development of lease relationships that were adopted at the party's Central Committee plenum, and which will be published, it is recognized that leases can be made for periods of between 5 and 50 years, and even more. The same document also gives the right of transfer on inheritance to family members that have worked as the main lessee, so to speak.

[Murakhovskiy] The right of the lessee.

[Ligachev] Yes. Such a right has been granted. And this, I think, is already a considerable inspiration for people who are able to lease land or other means of production and run the appropriate kind of undertaking. Besides this—I repeat it again—there is a whole system of measures for giving assistance through credits and materials to set up and equip undertakings of that kind.

[Unidentified correspondent] The KOELNER STADTANZEIGER, the FRG. Yegor Kuzmich, at the beginning you said that among other things the plenum had also determined new planning methods. Can you describe these greater detail? If the planning of agriculture is preserved for a definite transitional period in addition to the state order, then there will also be someone allocating plan tasks, as it were, among the republics, the oblasts and rayons, the farms, and so on. Then checkers will appear—as now—and ultimately those who interfere in the farms themselves.

[Ligachev] It is written and set down clearly and precisely in the plenum material that the production of agricultural output, the plan for the production of agricultural output, is compiled by the farms themselves, by the kolkhoz or sovkhoz, by the agrocombine, the agroindustrial association, the agrofirm, the peasant holding, and so on, on the basis of what they are capable of and of social requirements. That is of principle importance. We have to provide the country with food. The country is large, huge. Naturally, we have to plan food resources. And the so called state order—for a limited quantity of products—somewhat more than, for example, in Czechoslovakia. I was there not long ago—planning there essentially takes place for two things, the state order covers grain and meat, although at first there it was a much greater range of products.

Well, for a limited range of products the state order will be taken down to the union republics. And let's face it, we had a lot of arguments and exchanges of opinion at the Central Committee plenum about how best to arrange this, because we don't yet have any worthwhile experience. But we have studied very carefully the work

of our socialist, of the fraternal socialist countries, and we have reached the conclusion that a dialogue has to be conducted. Our procurement bodies will have in their hands the finances and the material and technical resources and must sit down at the same table as the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to be more precise with every kolkhoz and sovkhoz, and bring out its abilities, give it assistance of every kind, to make available the necessary financial resources and material and technical resources for that state order and, finally, to work out an agreement for the delivery of output to the state. Two or three such rounds of talks might be necessary, but it must be done without any command administering, without injunctions, by means of economic and material technical resources.

[Unidentified correspondent in German with superimposed announcer-read Russian translation] In his speech the general secretary said that in some respects there had been a considerable fall in the harvests and that the markets do indeed face some very serious consequences. How can these issues be resolved?

[Nikonov] The report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev did not paint such a pessimistic picture as would appear from your question. Over the past 3 years our country has seen growth in all livestock farming and in virtually all arable land production. The profitability of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production has grown. As far as our our basic product, grain, is concerned—about which there is much talk both within our country and abroad—the 11th 5-Year Plan period ended an average with 180 million tonnes of grain being produced. We need about 60 million tonnes for direct food requirements; the remainder is for livestock farming and seed. During the first 2 years of this 5-year plan period we brought in 211 million tonnes each year—that is to say, 31 million tonnes more per year. This year—or rather last year—we had 195 million tonnes, but that year we were caught by drought. Generally speaking the conditions were extreme and caused that kind of losses for 1 year, but this does not affect the provision of food for the population.

[Unidentified correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question from THE NEW YORK TIMES for Mr Ligachev: In his report Mr Gorbachev said that the ultimate goal is to give lessees complete freedom regarding the marketing of their output, and he went on to say that this would take place at some time in the future, after the transitional period. Could you tell us when that future time will arrive when a free market will be created in the Soviet Union for agricultural produce? Will it be 1990 or the next century? And will the lessees be able to fix their own prices for their own output, as an ultimate goal?

[Ligachev] I think that this will take place when we have an abundance of food. And I would like to confirm once again what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said about the lessee—in fact just like the kolkhozes and the sovkhozes—ultimately being given full rights to market his output in the places and—once the state orders have been fulfilled—to any consumer they think necessary.

[Murakhovskiy] To rely on the market, their own shops.

[Ligachev] Providing either local supplies or those beyond the borders of their republic or oblast. That right has been granted.

[Murakhovskiy] Even today that kind of right exists in our country for kolkhozes and sovkhozes, for lessees, for private subsidiary holdings, which are freely able to market produce from their private subsidiary holdings on the market. And we have good markets in many towns where there is plenty of produce of that kind.

[(Ostrovskiy)] (Ostrovskiy), the NOVOSTI NEWS AGENCY. Since this plenum was unusual and extremely important the question of the elections of the people's deputies of the USSR on behalf of the party has somehow receded into second place, into the background, at this press conference.

[Medvedev] The participants in the Central Committee plenum who took part in the voting elected by an overwhelming majority of votes all candidates who had been nominated at the preceding plenum of the party Central Committee. I would also like to say to those who are present here today that whatever discussion there was on the announcement by Comrade Koptyug, there was an exchange of rejoinders which I would like to tell you about. Comrade Tikhomirov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and a worker at the Moscow electromechanical works named after Vladimir Ilyich, made several observations in his rejoinder concerning the progress of the election campaign in the country. He supported the party's line toward the development of democracy and called for there to be not just simply talk about restructuring, democracy, and glasnost, but for everyone without exception to actively participate in this process.

At the same time Comrade Tikhomirov expressed concern that during the current election campaign in a number of cases it is the workers and the peasants who are losing in the first place, and that demagogic and antisocial manifestations are sometimes rising to the surface in the general upsurge of people's social activeness. These do not always encounter the resistance they should. At the same time he mentioned a meeting or assembly which took place on 12 March on the Ploshchad Mayakovskogo [not further identified] in which the democratic alliance and several other informal organizations took part. At it slogans were submitted that were unacceptable and not understandable for us—against the October revolution, and against some usurpation of power in our country.

The speaker expressed a number of critical remarks against Comrade Yeltsin, in particular concerning his position on the question of the role of the party and Komsomol in our country, his idea of making the party subordinate to the soviets, of establishing a new young people's organization as a counterweight to the Komsomol, and several others. He also gave an example from his own personal experience in which he came up against bureaucratic manifestations in the work of the State Construction Committee [Gosstroy], the apparatus of which Boris Nikolayevich is a leader. In particular he said that he had to wait for an hour to be received by Comrade Yeltsin, despite the fact that he had been told that a member of the CPSU Central Committee wanted to meet him in connection with a matter which had arisen during work.

Comrade Yeltsin replied very briefly to these criticisms. In particular he denied that he was calling for a multi-party approach in our system, but was only calling for the discussion of this question to be developed in the mass information media.

As concerns bureaucratic manifestations in the work of Gosstroy, he admitted this, saying that he had made his apologies to Comrade Tikhomirov for what had happened when he had tried to be received by the deputy chairman at Gosstroy. I have to say, too, that the plenum Presidium, toward the end of its work, received several notes which raise the question that in a number of the speeches and communiques which Comrade Yeltsin has made during recent times, he voiced views which diverge from the party's line. The notes submit a proposal for this matter to be examined. In this regard, the Party Central Committee plenum instructed a group of members of the plenum to examine the materials connected with the speech by Comrade Yeltsin, to assess them, since, of course, the plenum didn't have in its possession such materials here. The whole of this matter has to be examined and generalized, and will be reported on at the next plenary session of the party Central Committee.

I would like once again to return to the first matter which was discussed at the plenum, and say that this matter, which was completed yesterday, was conducted in an organized, but not formal, manner, with great interest, and participation by members of the Central Committee, and ended with the election of all of the candidates who were nominated for people's deputies from the CPSU. [video shows press briefing in progress; on the platform from left to right are: Kapto, Nikonov, Medvedev, Gerasimov, Murakhovskiy, Ligachev]

Voting Tally for CPSU Deputies Listed

PM1903160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Announcement by the Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies from the CPSU: On the Results of Elections of USSR People's Deputies from the CPSU"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU took place at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 15 March 1989.

Votes were cast by 641 participants in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, representing 96.1 percent.

The following Communists were elected USSR people's deputies from the CPSU:

ABALKIN Leonid Ivanovich, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economic Institute, Moscow City: 609 for, 32 against.

ABULADZE Tengiz Yevgenyevich, movie director at the "Gruziya-film" Studio, Tbilisi City: 637 for, 4 against.

AVERKIN Vladimir Nikolayevich, director of the No 1 boarding school, Novgorod City: 641 for, none against.

ADYLOV Vladimir Tuychiyevich, leader of a team of lathe hands at Tashkent's Aviation Production Association named for V.P. Chkalov, Tashkent City: 641 for, none against.

AYTMATOV Chingiz, writer, chairman of the Board the Kirghiz SSR Union of Writers, chief editor of the journal INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, Frunze City: 626 for, 15 against.

ALEKSEYEVA Lidiya Mikhaylovna, secretary of the "Serp i molot" Kolkhoz party committee in Kursk Oblast's Dmitriyevskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

AFANASYEV Viktor Grigoryevich, chief editor of PRAVDA, Moscow City: 603 for, 38 against.

BAKLANOV Oleg Dmitriyevich, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 639 for, 2 against.

BARYSHNIKOV Ivan Antonovich, marker at the Volga Automobile Plant named for the 50th Anniversary of the USSR, Kuybyshev Oblast: 641 for, none against.

BEYSHEKEYEVA Zayna, senior shepherd on the Dzhety-Oguzskiy State Specialized Farm in the Kirghiz SSR's Issyk-Kul Oblast: 641 for, none against.

BELOV Vasiliy Ivanovich, writer, secretary of the Board of the RSFSR Union of Writers, Vologda City: 635 for, 6 against.

BIKKENIN Nail Bariyevich, chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, Moscow City: 636 for, 5 against.

BORODIN Nikolay Vasilyevich, chairman of the Board of the "Pervoye maya" Kolkhoz in Chita Oblast's Shilkinskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

VAGIN Mikhail Grigoryevich, chairman of the Board of the V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz in Gorkiy Oblast's Koverninskiy Rayon: 639 for, 2 against.

VALEYEVA Zukhra Sibgatovna, leader of a team of housepainters at the SU-3 Ufa Planning and Construction Association for Large-Panel Housing Construction, Ufa City: 641 for, none against.

VASILYEV Ivan Afanasyevich, writer, Pskov Oblast: 638 for, 3 against.

VELIKHOV Yevgeniy Pavlovich, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow City: 633 for, 8 against.

VOROBYEV Nikolay Nikolayevich, first secretary of Pskov Oblast's Pytalovskiy CPSU Raykom: 641 for, none against.

GVOZDEV Vladimir Matveyevich, leader of an integrated mechanized team at the "Yuzhkuzbassugol" Production Association's "Raspadskaya" Mine, Kemerovo Oblast: 641 for, none against.

GERMAN (GRANIN) Daniil Aleksandrovich, writer, secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers, Leningrad City: 615 for, 26 against.

GOLUBEVA Valentina Nikolayevna, general director of the Ivanovo Cotton Production Association, Ivanovo City: 637 for, 4 against.

GONCHAR Aleksandr Nikolayevich, secretary of a motorized rifle regiment party committee, Leningrad Military District: 640 for, 1 against.

GORBACHEV Mikhail Sergeyevich, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Moscow City: 629 for, 12 against.

GROMOV Viktor Ivanovich, boring and turning lathe operator at the Verkhnesaldinskiy V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Production Association, Sverdlovsk Oblast: 640 for, 1 against.

GULOVA Zulaykho Sokhibnazarovna, leader of a field-cultivation team at the "XXII partsyezd" Kolkhoz in the Tajik SSR's Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

YEROKHOVETS Irina Yakovlevna, assembly worker at the Minsk Computer Equipment Production Association's G.K. Ordzhonikidze Computer Plant, Minsk City: 641 for, none against.

ZAYKOV Lev Nikolayevich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, Moscow City: 616 for, 25 against.

ZIATDINOV Nazip Ziatdinovich, director of the "Gigant" Sovkhoz in the Tatar ASSR's Tukayevskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

IBRAGIMOV Guseyn Rustam ogly, drill operator at the "Neftyanyye Kamni" Marine Drilling Operations Administration of the "Kaspmorneftegaz" Production Association, Baku City: 641 for, none against.

IVASHKO Vladimir Antonovich, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Kiev City: 640 for, 1 against.

ILIZAROV Gavriil Abramovich, general director of the All-Union Kurgan "Vosstanovitelnaya travmatologiya i ortopediya" Scientific Center, Kurgan City: 641 for, none against.

IOVLEV Dmitriy Mikhaylovich, mechanic at the "Moskvich" Production Associations's Motor Vehicle Plant named for the Lenin Komsomol, Moscow City: 641 for, none against.

ISHIN Aleksandr Yakovlevich, first secretary of Rostov Oblast's Shakhty CPSU Gorkom: 641 for, none against.

KABANOV Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, captain-director of the "Kamchatrybprom" Production Association's "Sokolovo" freezer-trawler, Kamchatka Oblast: 641 for, none against.

KALININ Nikolay Vasilyevich, commander of airborne assault forces, Moscow City: 641 for, none against.

KALISH Vitaliy Nikolayevich, steelworker at the "Dneprospetsstal" Electrometallurgical Plant Named for A.N. Kuzmin, Zaporozhye Oblast, Ukrainian SSR: 641 for, none against.

KARPOV Vladimir Vasilyevich, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers, Moscow City: 634 for, 7 against.

KIRGIZBAYEVA Tukhtakhon Bazarovna, team leader on Syrdarinskiy Rayon's "Malik" Sovkhoz in the Uzbek SSR's Syr-Darya Oblast: 640 for, 1 against.

KLEPIKOV Mikhail Ivanovich, leader of an integrated team on the "Kuban" Kolkhoz in Krasnodar Kray's Ust-Labinskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

KOLBESHKIN Aleksey Yefimovich, leader of a team of toolmakers at the Voronezh "Elektronika" Science and Production Association, Voronezh City: 641 for, none against.

KRAVCHENKO Nalina Vasilyevna, party committee secretary on the "Gryazinskiy" Sovkhoz in Lipetsk Oblast's Gryazinskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

KUDRYAVTSEV Vladimir Nikolayevich, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, Moscow City: 639 for, 2 against.

LAPTEV Ivan Dmitriyevich, chief editor of IZVESTIYA, Moscow City: 630 for, 11 against.

LARIONOV Vladimir Petrovich, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Yakutsk Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, director of the Institute of Physical Technical Problems of the North, Yakutsk City: 641 for, none against.

LEVITSKAS Vitautas Yuozovich, general director of the Kaunas Fur Production Association Named for K. Gedris, Lithuanian SSR: 639 for, 2 against.

LIGACHEV Yegor Kuzmich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 563 for, 78 against.

LIZICHEV Aleksey Dmitriyevich, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Diectorate, Moscow City: 635 for, 6 against.

LUKKOYEV Yuriy Prokhorovich, machine operator at the Volomskiy Timber Station under the Padanskiy Comprehensive Timber Procurement Facility, Karelian ASSR: 641 for, none against.

LUKYANOV Anatoliy Ivanovich, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Moscow City: 633 for, 8 against.

LUNEV Viktor Andreyevich, lathe hand at the "Kompressor" Production Association's Moscow "Kompressor" Refrigeration Machine Building Plant, Moscow City: 641 for, none against.

MANYAKIN Sergey Iosifovich, chairman of the USSR Committee of People's Control, Moscow City: 634 for, 7 against.

MARCHUK Guriy Ivanovich, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow City: 632 for, 9 against.

MASKO Galina Ignatyevna, deputy director of Slonim City's No 3 Secondary School, Belorussian SSR's Grodno Oblast: 641 for, none against.

MEDVEDEV Vadim Andreyevich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 619 for, 22 against.

MENDYBAYEV Marat Samiyevich, second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, Alma-Ata City: 635 for, 6 against.

MKRTCHYAN Misak Levonovich, first secretary of Leninakan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom, Leninakan City: 641 for, none against.

MOISEYEV Mikhail Alekseyevich, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, USSR first deputy defense minister, Moscow City: 639 for, 2 against.

MUNTYAN Mikhail Ivanovich, soloist with Moldavia's A.S. Pushkin State Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet, Kishinev City: 641 for, none against.

NAZAROV Ivan Aleksandrovich, first secretary of Omsk Oblast's Russko-Polyanskiy CPSU Raykom: 641 for, none against.

NAYDENOV Nikolay Andreyevich, leader of a tunnelers team at the "Vorkutaugol" Production Association's "Tsentralnaya" Mine, Vorkuta City: 641 for, none against.

NESTERENKO Yevgeniy Yevgenyevich, soloist with the USSR State Academy Bolshoy Theater, professor of the Moscow Tchaikovsky State Conservatoire, Moscow City: 639 for, 2 against.

NIKONOV Viktor Petrovich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 615 for, 26 against.

NOVOZHILOV Genrikh Vasilyevich, general designer at the Moscow Machine Building Plant Named for S.V. Ilyushin, Moscow City: 641 for, none against.

NYUKSHA Konstantin Ivanovich, toolmaker at the "Rizhskiy elektromashinostroitelnyy zavod" Production Association, Riga City: 641 for, none against.

OLEYNIK Boris Ilich, poet, secretary of the Board of the Ukrainian SSR Union of Writers, Kiev City: 632 for, 9 against.

OSTROUKHOV Viktor Alekseyevich, party committee secretary at the "Sibkabel" Production Association, Tomsk City: 641 for, none against.

PARUBOK Yemelyan Nikonovich, link leader on Zhashkovskiy Rayon's Suvorov Kolkhoz in the Ukrainian SSR's Cherkassy Oblast: 641 for, none against.

PATON Boris Yevgenyevich, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute, general director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences "Institut elektrosvarki im. Ye.O. Patona" Intersectorial Scientific and Technical Complex, Kiev City: 640 for, 1 against.

POSTNIKOV Viktor Ivanovich, general director of the "Stavropolskoye" Broiler Production Association, Stavropol City: 641 for, none against.

POKHODNYA Grigoriy Semenovich, shop chief on the Frunze Kolkhoz in Belgorod Oblast's Belgorodskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

PRIMAKOV Yevgeniy Maksimovich, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute, Moscow City: 626 for, 15 against.

PUGO Boris Karlovich, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee's Party Control Committee, Moscow City: 640 for, 1 against.

RAZUMOVSKIY Georgiy Petrovich, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, Moscow City: 623 for, 18 against.

ROMAZAN Ivan Kharitonovich, director of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine named for V.I. Lenin, Magnitogorsk City: 641 for, none against.

ROMAZANOV Kabdulla Zakiryanovich, steelworker at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, Kazakh SSR's Temirtau City: 641 for, none against.

RYZHKOV Nikolay Ivanovich, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow City: 631 for, 10 against.

RYCHIN Yevgeniy Sergeyevich, general director of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine, Moscow City: 641 for, none against.

RYUMIN Valeriy Viktorovich, deputy general designer at the "Energiya" Science and Production Association, Moscow City: 641 for, none against.

SAAR Vyayno Aleksandrovich, leader of an integrated team at the "Tallinstroy" SU-4 Trust, Estonian SSR: 641 for, none against.

SAMOLICHENKO Ivan Ivanovich, machine operator, leader of a lease collective on the "Orlovskiy" Sovkhoz in Novosibirsk Oblast's Tatarskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.

SELEZNEV Igor Sergeyevich, chief designer at the "Raduga" Machine Building Design Bureau, Moscow Oblast: 641 for, none against.

SIDOREYKO Vasiliy Larionovich, drilling foreman at the "Surgutneftegaz" Production Association's Surgut No 2 Drilling Operations Administration, Tyumen Oblast: 641 for, none against.

SLYUNKOV Nikolay Nikitovich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 622 for, 19 against.

SMYK Nikolay Mikhaylovich, pressing machine operator, leader of an integrated team at Krasnoyarsk's V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Plant, Krasnoyarsk City: 641 for, none against.

SPASSKIY Igor Dmitriyevich, general designer and chief of Leningrad's "Rubin" Planning and Assembly Bureau, Leningrad City: 640 for, 1 against.

TATARCHUK Valentin Ivanovich, director of the Solikamsk Pulp and Paper Combine named for the 60th Anniversary of the USSR, Perm Oblast: 641 for, none against.

ULYANOV Mikhail Aleksandrovich, artistic leader of the Yevg. Vakhtangov State Academy Theater, chairman of the Board of the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers, Moscow City: 594 for, 47 against.

UMALATOVA Sazhi Zayndinovna, leader of an integrated team at the Groznyy "Krasnyy molot" Machine Building Plant, Chechen-Ingush ASSR: 641 for, none against.

UTKIN Vladimir Fedorovich, general designer and general director of the "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association, Ukrainian SSR's Dnepropetrovsk Oblast: 640 for, 1 against.
FEDOROV Svyatoslav Nikolayevich, general director of the "Mikrokhirurgiya glaza" Intersectorial Scientific and Technical Complex, Moscow City: 630 for, 11 against.
FILIPPOVA Valentina Gavrilovna, deputy chairman of the Board of the "Aley" Kolkhoz in Altay Kray's Tretyakovskiy Rayon: 641 for, none against.
KHMEL Valentina Petrovna, leader of an integrated team of finishing workers at the SMU-5 Angara Construction Administration, Irkutsk Oblast: 641 for, none against.
CHEBRIKOV Viktor Mikhaylovich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 628 for, 13 against.
CHERNYAYEV Anatoliy Sergeyevich, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 637 for, 4 against.
SHALYYEV Atabally Bapbayevich, drilling foreman at the South Turkmen Test Drilling Administration under the "Turkmengazprom" Production Association, Turkmen SSR's Murgabskiy Rayon: 640 for, 1 against.
SHOROKHOV Viktor Nikolayevich, troubleshooter at Tula's V.M. Ryabikov Machine Building Plant, Tula City: 641 for, none against.
SHTEPO Viktor Ivanovich, general director of the Volgograd "Volgo-Don" Specialized Production Association in Volgograd Oblast's Kalachevskiy Rayon: 640 for, 1 against.
SHTOYK Garri Gvidovich, director of the "Kazpolimetall" Production Association's East Kazakhstan Copper and Chemical Combine, Kazakh SSR: 641 for, none against.
SHUKSHIN Anatoliy Stepanovich, polisher at the Far East Plant of Power Machine Building, Khabarovsk City: 641 for, none against.
YAKOVLEV Aleksandr Nikolayevich, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow City: 582 for, 59 against.

All Elected by 'Overwhelming Majority'

LD1903125189 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] As we have reported, all the 100 candidates of the Communist Party have been elected deputies at the plenary session by an overwhelming majority. The Soviet daily PRAVDA carries today the results of voting by secret ballot in which 641 people took part. Full data have been published on each candidature. The general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, was elected by 629 votes for and 12 against. Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov won by 631 votes for and 10 against. The secretary of the Central Committee, Yegor Ligachev, had 563 votes for and 78 against. Secretary of the Central Committee Vadim Medvedev was elected by 619 votes for and 22 against.

CPSU Candidates' Mandates Published

PM1903194389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Mandates Given to Candidate USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU at Election Campaign Meetings"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text]

Questions of Perfecting the Political System

Steadily enhance the authority of the CPSU as the political vanguard of the Soviet people and persistently implement the party line in the supreme body of power based on the provisions of the CPSU Central Committee appeal, "To the Party, to the Soviet People".

Strive to achieve the practical implementation of the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference aimed at the demarcation of the functions of party and state bodies and the revival of the sovereignty of the soviets from the bottom to the top.

Within the supreme body of state power, in its new composition, ensure a broad degree of glasnost during the discussion of political, socioeconomic, state law and other programs that are being drawn up, ways to implement them and the progress of their fulfilment. Prevent the adoption of laws that could entail breaches of the principle of social justice. In the supreme body of state power, be more persistent in raising questions involving the strengthening of discipline and good order and legal protection for citizens.

Draw up a law on referendums. Adopt major decisions of state through referendums.

Accelerate the drawing up and adoption of a law on local self-management and local economy. In the law, provide for the extension of the rights and powers of local soviets, and in particular provide them with the right to independently decide questions to do with land designation.

Speed up the elaboration and adoption of laws on youth, press, and glasnost.

Continue improving electoral practices.

Promote from positions of the state the harmonizing of interethnic relations, the elaboration of legal provisions and economic foundations for the union and autonomous principles of the Soviet state, and the determination of the status, rights, and duties of the union and autonomous republics.

Introduce proposals on political solutions to the problems of the small ethnic groups, which would take more fully into account their legitimate interests and would guarantee the preservation of the traditional way of life and activities in the areas they inhabit.

Strengthen the unity of the USSR. Take effective measures to normalize the interethnic situation in the Transcaucasus, the Baltic, and other areas of the country, and to put a stop to the activities of hostile nationalistic elements and to their attempts to violate the unity of our multinational state.

Give particular attention to preserving and developing national culture, matters of strengthening the family, and combatting drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug addiction.

Strive to step up the activities of local soviet bodies in the struggle against those who clamp down on criticism and to increase their principledness and energy in defending those who do not compromise in their revelation of specific shortcomings.

Strengthen the struggle against bureacracy and ban instances in which the letters of the working people are examined by those against whom they are complaining.

Promote raising the level of work by public organizations and the development of their spontaneous activity in support of the ideas of restructuring and in the interests of the people.

Speed up the adoption of a law regulating procedures for the formation, registration, and activities of independent public organizations and associations, and define their legal and political status. Guarantee social protection for workers holding elected posts in public organizations.

Introduce workers' monitoring of the distribution of goods more energetically.

Adopt a law aimed at eradicating corruption.

Improve the quality of the work of the administrative bodies. Step up the fight against crime in the country and guarantee legal protection for workers of the law protection bodies, above all, the militia.

Draw up a legal mechanism for involving people with higher education more fully in work in accordance with the level of education received.

Adopt concrete laws on the responsibility of parents for the upbringing of their children.

Questions of Social and Economic Development

Persistently implement the policy of reorientating the economy towards social needs, pay greater attention to tackling in practice issues of vital importance to Soviet people, above all, those of improving housing conditions, ensuring the supply of food, consumer goods and services, and health protection. Devote particular attention to reinforcing the material and technical base of the social sphere, to fulfilling plans for the construction of social and cultural faciltiies, and to providing the necessary material resources for this.

Constantly monitor the correlation between the subsistence wage and the real incomes of various categories of the population, expand assistance to those who are less well off, and increase child benefits for families with a low level of income.

Speed up the adoption of the new law on provision of pensions. Conduct a thorough study of the question of utilizing the labor of pensioners and of removing the restrictions on their earnings. Eliminate the existing inequality in the provision of pensions for collective farmers. Improve the living conditions for single pensioners and disabled persons who are in need of constant assistance, and build more residential homes for them.

Increase attention to questions relating to improving the conditions of work and leisure for the working people, and take advantage of all opportunities to increase the duration of paid leave for workers.

Work out a package of measures to improve working conditions for women, free them from night shift work, and provide for an increase in the length of paid maternity leave. Extend the list of types of work where women's labor is banned. Improve the living and working conditions for mothers of large families. Show greater concern for the parents and widows of dead servicemen.

Take a careful approach to working out price formation policy, with priority being given to consumers' interests. Carry out reform of retail prices in coordination with the market supply of industrial goods and food produce.

Devote greater attention to medical services for the population and to developing the material base of health care. Raise the question of increasing the wages of junior medical workers. Fully solve the matter of providing the population, especially war and labor veterans, with medicines.

Increase expenditure on national education. Raise the standard of teaching in schools. Improve the selection of students in pedagogical institutes of higher education. Reshape the regulations of the general education school.

Ensure the consistent implementation of radical economic reform. Work out a program for improving the financial health of the country, for eliminating the deficit in the state budget, and for strengthening monetary circulation. With these aims in view, attract the savings made by citizens from their earnings, improve the system of reciprocal relations between enterprises and the budget, and develop lease contracting relations. Continue to reduce expenditure on the maintenance of the

apparatus of ministries and departments and define more precisely their structure and functions. Make this expenditure dependent on the economically accountable results of the sector's work.

Seek to achieve a legislative solution to questions of regional economic accountability with the aim of increasing the contribution of all regions to the socioeconomic development of the country and improving the living conditions of the population in all regions.

Ensure the stage by stage elaboration of large scale national economy programs, their technical and economic grounding, and expert evaluation.

Accelerate the development of Soviet machine building and raise its priority areas to the level of world achievements, including the development of modern models in motor transport, construction and road equipment suitable for northern conditions, and mineworking machines.

Ensure the priority development of the light and food industry sectors and the implementation of already adopted programs for the retooling of these sectors.

Introduce specific proposals to create scientific and production structures which ensure the development and rapid assimilation of the output produced by the new technology on the basis of advanced scientific achievements.

Give greater attention to conserving resources and making use of secondary materials. Elaborate measures to make more rational use of cotton fiber and to reduce its application in the manufacture of industrial textiles.

Strive to attain the fundamental restructuring of economic relations in the agroindustrial complex and to create living and working conditions in the countryside that are no worse than those in the towns. Persist in implementing measures for the social development of the countryside, the construction there of well-appointed housing, medical, trade, consumer service, and cultural facilities, and the restoration of neglected villages and settlements.

Facilitate the extension of kolkhoz and sovkhoz autonomy in solving economic questions and making use of their finances. Regulate deductions from kolkhoz and sovkhoz profits to superior bodies. Accelerate the transition to wholesale trade in agricultural technology.

Strive to create an economic mechanism that would stimulate reductions in prices and increases in quality and the consumer specifics of technology and mineral fertilizers delivered to agriculture by industry.

Improve the system of price formation for agricultural produce and the material and technical resources and building materials used in agriculture.

Facilitate the extensive introduction of scientific achievements into agricultural practice.

Organize the elaboration and implementation of a package of organizational, economic, and technical measures to overcome the lagging behind of loss-making and low-profitability kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Strive to create specialized depots in every agricultural area for the processing of agricultural produce in order to reduce losses.

Ensure the elaboration and implementation of a program for the revival of the rural consumers' cooperative system along Leninist principles of voluntarism, material incentive for the participants, and management democratism. Make the consumers' cooperative system an interested partner of country dwellers, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial complex enterprises in solving the food problem.

Accelerate the elaboration of a law on leasing. Step up attention to creating conditions for work lessees. Resolve the question of supplying them with equipment via the wholesale trade network and of opening bank current accounts for lessees.

Promote the switch of patronage relations between town and country to an economic, contractual basis.

Pay special attention to the problems of environmental protection, actively promote deeper fundamental scientific research in this sphere and the adoption of the necessary legislative acts, and increase the accountability of persons guilty of pulluting the environment. Accelerate the elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive ecological program. Strive to transfer sectors of the agroindustrial complex to the production of ecologically clean output and the introduction of waste-free technologies that do no harm to the natural environment. Consider it necessary to draw up countrywide provisions on permissible norms governing the use of chemicals in land husbandry, with due regard for regional ecological situations, and establish methods of utilizing the natural environment that are based on economic accountability.

Questions of Defense Capability and Foreign Policy Activity

Take an active part in elaborating and implementing the peaceloving foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Continue active work through the USSR Supreme Soviet and all other possible channels to release the Soviet prisoners of war who have not come back from Afghanistan.

Elaborate a law on the defense of the country, develop a code of laws on the rights and obligations of the personnel of the USSR Armed Forces.

In determining expenditure for defense purposes, be guided by the principle of reasonable sufficiency. Set up within the USSR Supreme Soviet a special commission on defense questions, which will be entrusted in particular with monitoring expenditure on military needs.

Organize the development and implementation of programs to convert the defense industry. Use the production capacity thereby released primarily for the technical refitting of the processing industry, the agroindustrial complex, and light industry and consumer goods production.

In connection with the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces, direct a proportion of the money released into the technical reequipment of the troops and the increase of finances paid to officers who are directly connected with training and educating servicemen. Extend benefits to the wives of servicemen.

Work out a law on the social protection of servicemen. Examine the matter of improving the legal regulation of training gatherings for those subject to call-up and the pay for mobilization measures.

Grant students of higher education establishments attending (day-time) instruction deferment from call-up for active military service.

Send graduates from vocational and technical construction colleges to serve as a rule with the construction troops in order to gain skills in their field. Examine the possibility of granting them deferment from call-up for active military service for 1 year after completing their studies.

Mandates Further Detailed

LD1803222389 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—The mandates to the candidates to the supreme legislature of the USSR from the CPSU, expressed at election meetings, were published today. In accordance with the decision taken on March 15 by the CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting, they are being handed over to the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration as the mandates to Soviet people's deputies from the CPSU.

A big range of questions, in the solution of which the deputies from the CPSU are proposed to take an active part, concern perfection of the political legislation in order to take most important state decisions through referendums. The need is stressed for accelerated drafting and adoption of laws on local self-government, youth, the press, public openness, a law to eradicate corruption. It was proposed to take efficient steps to normalise the inter-ethnic situation in the Transcaucasus, the Baltic area and other parts of the country, to stop activities of hostile, nationalist elements.

In the socio-economic sphere, the deputies are proposed to persistently carry into life the course of social reorientation of the economy, the exercise of control over the correlation between the subsistence minimum and real incomes of various categories of the population. The task is set to elaborate a program of improving the country's finances, to liquidate the state budget deficit and consolidate money circulation. The living and working conditions in the countryside should be the same as in town. The mandates require special care to be displayed for pensioners, for women's living and working conditions.

In the price formation policy the demand is to proceed from the priority of consumers' interests. A comprehensive ecological program has to be speedily elaborated and implemented.

The mandates instruct the deputies to actively participate in elaborating and carrying out the peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and the state. It was proposed to draw up a law on defense of the country, to form in Soviet parliament a special commission on defense matters which will, among other things, control military expenditures. It was also proposed to draw up and implement a defense industry conversion program.

Resolution on Mandates Published

PM1903193589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

["Resolution of the 15 March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: On the Mandates to USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] First: The tasks and measures defined in the CPSU Central Committee's address to the party and the Soviet people should be regarded as a general mandate from the CPSU to USSR people's deputies.

Second: The concrete proposals advanced by Communists and working people at election meetings with the candidates for USSR people's deputies from the CPSU should be conveyed, as mandates from the CPSU to USSR people's deputies, to the USSR Supreme Soviet for examination.

Third: The Central Committees of the union republic Communist Parties, party kraykoms and obkoms, together with USSR people's deputies from the CPSU, should take measures aimed at implementing the wishes and critical remarks falling within the authority of local bodies, which were voiced at meetings with candidate deputies by Communists, party aktiv members, labor collectives, and in the press.

Plenum Provides Westerners Insight

LD1703123889 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Excerpts] In my view the report delivered by President Mikhail Gorbachev at Wednesday's meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee will help the Americans and other westerners have a better insight into what is happening in this country and dispel the doubts emerging in connection with perestroyka. For instance, the following statement was made in the White House recently: On the issue of change within the Soviet Union there are still far more questions than answers and there is great uncertainty concerning the results of the events unfolding in the USSR. Those who follow reports from the Kremlin are now in a position to get convinced once again how profound and definite the changes occurring in this country are. [passage omitted]

Commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's report, American newsmen working in Moscow have said the fears of Western analysts that bureaucrats will continue to dictate to farmers which crops should be planted on individual plots proved to be ungrounded. The AP correspondent quotes Mikhail Gorbachev as saying that leaseholders will be given a virtually free hand. Judging by news reports, American business circles look forward to the news on the outcome of the full-scale meeting on agricultural problems in Moscow. [passage omitted]

In my view Mikhail Gorbachev's report on radical steps aimed at promoting farming in the Soviet Union leaves no doubt as to the fact that restructuring in the Soviet Union has acquired new dimensions. It became irreversible and profound.

Elections Process Continues for People's Deputies

Komsomol Elects 75 Deputies

LD1703225189 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Seventy five people's deputies of the USSR were elected at the enlarged plenary meeting of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (YCL) held here on Friday [17 March]. Among them are young representatives of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, scientists and cultural personalities, servicemen, students, and one member of a cooperative society.

The plenum approved young people's mandate to the deputies. It requires that they support in every way the process of the assertion of real sovereignty of the people and translate into action the most constructive ideas on refining socialist society. The deputies from the Komsomol shall work to democratise the activity of the supreme bodies of state authority, to assure political and legal protection of citizens against the manifestations of the personality cult in any of its forms, against corruption, bureaucratism, and favouratism.

The YCL, which was founded in 1918, now unites in its ranks some 36 million Soviet young people. Under the new electoral law, Komsomol, just as other public organisations of the country, has gained the right to directly elect its representatives to the supreme body of state authority. One tenth of all mandates alloted to public organisations was assigned to it.

The plenary meeting of the YCL Central Committee held in January elected 102 candidates to people's deputies of the USSR. Over the time that has passed since the plenum the candidates from the Komsomol held numerous meetings with the country's youth. Their election platforms were discussed in keen debates. Following such meetings, four people withdrew their candidacies, as a result of which the number of candidates shrank to 98. During the secret balloting on Friday 23 people failed to earn the required number of votes.

Various Other Elections Reported

PM2003130189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS reports under general heading: "Choice Made"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] The country's public sports organizations held their all-union conference for the elections of USSR people's deputies in the House of Union's Hall of Columns on Friday. According to the results of the voting, the following have been elected USSR people's deputies from the public sports organizations: A.A. Akentyev, chief of a winter sports branch of the Army Central Sports Club—the "Tysovets" sports base, Lvov Oblast; B.N. Rogatin, chairman of the all-union council of the trade unions' VDFSO [exact expansion unknown]; and V.S. Sysoyev, chairman of the central council of the "Dinamo" VFSO [exact expansion unknown].

On 17 March a plenum of the board of the all-union "Znaniye" society after a secret ballot elected 10 USSR people's deputies—that is the number of seats allocated to "Znaniye." They include M.I. Demchuk, USSR minister of national education; A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department; and Kh.Kh. Karimov, director of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of plant physiology and biophysics.

On 17 March five representatives of Soviet fine art were elected USSR people's deputies at a session of the general assembly of the USSR Academy of Arts.

Those entrusted with a deputy's seat include B. Ugarov, president of the USSR Academy of Arts; the Leningrad painter A. Mylnikov, his Latvian colleague I. Zarin, Krasnoyarsk sculptor L. Golovnitskiy, and Ye. Rozanov, chairman of the State Committee for Architecture.

The participants in the expanded plenum of the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, held 17 March in Moscow, had to elect their USSR people's deputy from two candidates.

According to the results of the ballot, N.T. Trubilin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, has become a USSR people's deputy.

The all-union conference to elect 10 USSR people's deputies from the Union of Soviet Artists lasted 2 days in the capital.

Only 8 candidates collected the necessary majority of votes. Under the USSR Law on Elections, the Artists Union retains the right to hold by-elections of deputies.

Rules for Upcoming 26 Mar Elections

LD1703192989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] We'll begin the bulletin with information on voting procedures during elections. As reported to a TASS correspondent at the Central Electoral Commission, on 26 March, the day of elections for USSR people's deputies, every voter arriving at the premises allocated for voting will receive voting papers from members of the district electoral commission. In accordance with article 52 of the Law on Election of USSR People's Deputies, every voter votes personally. Voting for other persons is not allowed. The district electoral commission gives out papers on the basis of electoral rolls or on identification to the right to vote through the showing of a passport or another document identifying a person. As a rule every voter will be issued with two papers, one of which is white in color for elections to a territorial electoral district, and another which is sky blue in color for elections to a national territorial electoral district of a union republic. In autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous districts, the voter will also receive a third paper, pink in color, for elections to a national territorial electoral district of an autonomous republic, autonomous oblast, and autonomous district.

District electoral commissions, having voting papers in several languages, will give voters at their request the papers in the corresponding language. Having received the voting papers, the voter goes into a booth or a room for secret voting and fills in the papers, that is, strikes out the surnames of candidates he is not voting for. Moreover, the presence of anybody in the booth apart from the voter is forbidden. At the same time the law envisages that a voter not able to fill in the papers on his own has the right to invite into the booth or room another person of his choice, but not a member of the electoral commission.

In those cases where two or more candidate deputies are entered on the voting paper, the voter should leave the surname of only one candidate deputy for whom he is voting, having struck out the surnames of all remaining candidates.

If in a paper the surnames of all candidate deputies are struck out, it is considered that the voter has not voted for. In cases where one candidate deputy has been entered in the voting paper, the voter leaves his surname on the paper and votes for him, or strikes out the surname of the candidate and votes against him.

One should bear in mind that voting papers in which more than one candidate deputy is left during voting are deemed invalid. Also deemed invalid are papers which are not of the established pattern. Surnames of persons not registered as candidate deputies for a given electoral district written in on the voting paper will not be counted during the summing up of results. The voter drops the completed paper into the election box.

Sakharov Urges New Academy Elections

AU2003132289 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 20 (AFP)—Human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov Monday condemned his "antidemocratic" rejection by the Soviet Academy of Sciences as a candidate to a revamped parliament and called for new elections in the interests of "all of society".

In a speech to the opening day of an Academy General Assembly called to elect 23 candidates to 20 reserved seats in the new Congress of People's Deputies, Mr Sakharov said: "I believe it is necessary for new elections. We must by all means correct an antidemocratic decision."

He stressed that his demand did not reflect a lack of confidence in those candidates chosen at the January 18 session of the reputedly conservative Academy leadership, and that he was not seeking confrontation among Academicians, "but it is about correcting the antidemocratic decision".

"This is about democracy to elect people with broad democratic thinking not just to represent the Academy but society as a whole. This is the main task of our deputies," he told the 1,108 assembled delegates.

Mr Sakharov said the Academy's January 18 decision, which caused a storm in the scientific community, was "no coincidence", and had ignored the wishes of scientific institutions, 50 of which had voted in favour of his candidacy.

Earlier Monday senior physics researcher Aleksandr Sobyanin, who has spearheaded the movement in support of the Nobel Peace Prize winner and other advocates of radical reform eliminated on January 18, told reporters he was optimistic Mr Sakharov could be nominated and elected if some candidates dropped out.

Mr Sobyanin made his statement after the Academy's election commission chairman, Vladimir Kotelik, told the assembly that election legislation ruled out the nomination of additional candidates before the vote at electoral conferences.

Mr Kotelik said additional candidates could only be nominated if the meeting elected less than 20 deputies. The new candidates would then be put forward in a re-election not less than two weeks and no more than two months after the Academy vote, scheduled to take place on Tuesday.

But Mr Kotelik admitted that the law was not totally clear, and it appeared that a groundswell of support for Mr Sakharov could lead to his nomination.

Mr Sakharov, a member of the Academy Presidium, has said that although he had been nominated to run in constituency seats in the Congress, the centrepiece of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's political reform, he would only stand for office if nominated by the Academy.

Military Candidates Face 'Furor'

PM1603123989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Single Edition p 6

[Article by Major I. Drobinka, candidate of historical sciences, and correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: " 'Ultimatum' to the Commander, or Who in Latvia Is Fueling Passions Around the Army"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already raised the topic of various Latvian social movements' attitude to the Army. We are still prepared to reiterate today that we support everything sensible and useful contained in the demands made by the People's Front which has been created in the republic. But it is also impossible to deny that negative tendencies are continuing to intensify. And this cannot be overlooked with indifference.

A new pitch of passions has accompanied the election campaign. Thus, a short item appeared on the front page of the 14 February edition of the evening newspaper RIGAS BALSS (the organ of the Latvian Communist Party gorkom and the city soviet). "At 13 Merkelya Street in Riga," the author writes, "there is a building which used to be known as the home of the once extant and now reactivated Riga Lettish Society. Since June 1940 this building has been occupied by the Army, which has nothing to do with the history of this national monument. It is currently the district officers' club. The question of handing it over to its real owner has been raised more than once...."

Let us concede that this is in fact the situation. But it is also true that Latvia's working people handed over the building housing the officer's club to Red Army representatives as a gesture of profound friendship and internationalism. Thus emotions and ambitions should not be used as the main argument for revising such a serious decision. Especially since not only the military have access to the officers' club.

What have the elections got do do with this, incidentally? There is an absolutely direct connection, it transpires. The point is that this item in the form of an open letter was addressed to Lieutenant General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, who has been nominated as a candidate for USSR people's deputy. We do not, however, intend to describe this letter as something that should not be allowed. In Latvia at present there is considerable discussion about every candidate, and often positions are clarified through the mass media. So in this context the figure of the commander is indistinguishable from other people.

But concern is caused by quite a different "distinguishing factor." One of us attended an okrug election meeting. Having listened to Kuzmin's well-considered program and answers to questions, most of the delegates expressed their preference for the commander. But it was also clear that some delegates had come here with the manifest objective of getting this precise candidate "rejected." At times it seemed that the noise and disapproving retorts that followed Kuzmin's speech would divert the meeting from a businesslike footing.

The time has come to close the page on the episode of the RIGAS BALSS item. We don't know about other people, but we got the impression that the open letter was timed to coincide with the okrug election meeting. It transpired that at the meeting some people wanted to make the "Officers' Club problem" virtually the main point of the commander's election platform. This subject constantly came up in both spoken and written questions. The implication was: "If he solves this one, he can be sure of success."

It would possibly not be worth talking about this episode in such detail if it was an isolated instance. But the whole point is, to put it bluntly, that unnecessary and unhealthy passions are sometimes being fueled around the elections, particularly when it comes to candidates from among the military.

Here is a specific example. A meeting to nominate candidates was being held at the No 20 secondary school in Riga. There was an immediate eruption of disputes about organizational questions. What action should be taken in this kind of situation? The simplest way out is to look at what the law says.

But meeting organizer Yu. Kronis acted differently: Seeing that those supporting his position were in the minority, he tried to talk about... canceling the meeting.

When this ploy failed Kronis deployed the following argument: Students from the military academy have been brought here en masse, and they should not be here. In brief, the argument was that things had been rigged "in the interests of a suitable military candidate." At least that was how local television interpreted the event.

But there turned out to be no sensation. A check revealed that there was simply not a single academy student there. The only ones present were officers from the academy and members of their families, since they live in the rayon. The following day the television station had to make the necessary clarifications to its previous broadcast. But the "sensation" had already done the rounds of Riga. You can only wonder: Was it or was it not deliberate that journalists gave such hasty publicity to unchecked facts?

Only the truth can refute a lie. It is not difficult to establish that the furor (there is no other word for it) around the nomination of candidate deputies from among the military is a continuation of the campaign being conducted against the Armed Forces by extremists. You can constantly see pickets carrying banners reading "Soldiers Go Home!" The press is carrying articles "proving" that the Red Army came into Latvia in 1940 as a conqueror. Refutations to the slanderers are extremely rare. Unfortunately, young people have been supporting all these attacks recently. The Latvian People's Front program states: "The Latvian People's Front demands the restoration of the republic's right... to create a territorial troop formation...."

Veterans are asking the direct question: Why should Letts have privileges in carrying out military service? But few people seem to be heeding the sober voices. In our view, many actions against the Army in the republic result from a misunderstanding or ignorance of the truth about the events of 1940.

So what is to be done? The district political directorate's initiative in organizing mobile photographic exhibitions in the streets of Riga seems to be beneficial. One of them is in fact called "The Truth About the Soviet Army." It features copies of documents testifying to the turbulent events of summer 1940, when the People's Sejm, fulfilling the working people's wishes, adopted a decision on the restoration of Soviet power and the inclusion of the republic in the USSR. And there are materials from the Hitlerite "Ost" plan, which envisioned the Germanization of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. People also need to know that it was intended to expel 3 million people from the Baltic region. And there were plans to settle 96,000 Germans in Riga. Thanks to the Soviet Army's liberation mission these terrible plans did not materialize. And the cost? In the battles for Soviet Latvia alone 150,000 Soviet soldiers died.

We must talk about this not only on ceremonial dates or during mass-defense work months. At a recent meeting of the bureau of the military-patriotic education section of the republic "Znaniye" society it was noted that a decline in this work has been observed in the republic and that it is not popular among the population. Various reasons were cited. One of them is the inability of lecturers to conduct a polemic with young people on the problem. There are few lecturers with a command of the indigenous nationality's language, and members of the "Salang" internationalist soldiers club and commanding officers and political workers from the district's units are rarely recruited for this work.

And what about attitudes to territorial formations? Let us look at this problem from a slightly different angle. Not from a purely national standpoint but from a much broader perspective.

Our common interests would hardly be damaged by the stationing of a few units bearing honorary national names in the Baltic Military District. Like the front-line 16th Lithuanian Infantry Division (as it was once called), for example. On condition, of course, that it is manned by representatives of all the union republics. And the cause of the military-patriotic education of young people in the republic would undoubtedly benefit greatly from this.

Or take Latvia. The Sevastopol Red Banner guards training motorized infantry regiment named for the Lettish Riflemen is currently based at one of the republic's centers of population. It has recently become a center for the military-patriotic education of schoolchildren, secondary vocational and technical training college students, and young people below draft age.

Nevertheless there is a point in increasing the number of people doing their service in their home republics. This is also stated in Lt Gen F. Kuzmin's election platform. The best draftees, he considers, should be selected to serve in what we will call "named" units. Incidentally, this does not apply only to the Baltic republics. In the district there are units where the names of front-line heroes are inscribed in the personnel rolls in perpetuity. Aleksandr Matrosov and Yuriy Smirnov, for example. But for more than 10 years people from their home areas have not been sent to these subunits.

Thus these problems are much broader than the way they are posed by the Latvian People's Front.

We recently had occasion to hear the following comforting prediction. The elections of people's deputies will take place, it is said, and many actions relating to the Armed Forces will cease. Let us be thankful for small blessings, as the saying goes. But it is difficult to agree with this because the whole thing is much more serious, it seems to us. The opposition between various social forces in Latvia has not been halted yet, although all the conditions for consolidation exist. The Army does not need defending against objective, even extremely sharp,

criticism, but it does need defending against troublemakers, fabrications, and demagoguery. It is from this standpoint that we must proceed.

Moscow Campaign Atmosphere Detailed

LD1803000589 Moscow TASS in English
1450 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

Parliamentary candidates cross swords in TV debates, entrance doors are festooned with campaign paraphernalia and vans with loudspeakers are roaming the streets trying to attract voters by advertising candidates' platforms. This is Moscow, bracing up for the March 26 elections to the new Soviet legislature.

Contenders use the most diverse campaigning methods. Some have left leaflets in Moscow's buses and trams and others, in an effort to win the hearts of women, sent greeting cards to all female residents of their constituencies on March 8, the International Women's Day.

The law on elections passed last autumn enabled work collectives, public organisations and voters to promote their candidates who are allowed to have campaign staff of up to ten people.

Meet-the-candidate meetings arouse immense public interest and enable voters to make up their minds about candidates and their platforms. There have been more than 20 such meetings in the Tushinskiy constituency in Moscow alone.

However, the election campaign is proceeding not without flaws, with people complaining of low debating skills and negative campaigning. The right to promote or oppose candidates is sometimes used to compromise opponents.

This campaign will help gain experience of avoiding unethical stunts. Electoral commissions are now paying most attention to providing equal campaigning opportunities to all candidates.

10,000 Yeltsin Supporters Stage March in Moscow

AU1903133889 Paris AFP in English
1232 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 19 (AFP)—About 10,000 supporters of Boris Yeltsin, the ousted Moscow party chief currently under investigation by the Central Committee, staged a mass protest march Sunday [19 March] in central Moscow but were prevented from reaching Red Square, according to an AFP reporter on the spot.

The demonstrators decided to march to the Kremlin after Soviet authorities banned the unofficial Memorial movement and Russian Popular Front from holding a rally in support of Mr. Yeltsin in Gorkiy Park, the reporter said.

About 10 van-loads of police reinforcements blocked Gorkiy Street, preventing the protesters from marching the remaining half-mile (kilometre) to Red Square, when they reached Moscow City Hall.

The protest rally was organised after the policy-making Central Committee set up a commission to look into Mr. Yeltsin's party loyalty after complaints from Central Committee members that he had deviated from the party line, and accused him of favouring a multi-party system. Mr. Yeltsin, who is running in next Sunday's elections to a special all-Moscow seat, has denied the charges.

Gorbachev Attends Consumer Cooperative Congress

LD2003081689 Moscow World Service in English
0800 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] A congress of the USSR consumer cooperatives, bringing together 114,000,000 shareholders, has opened in Moscow. Attending are Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders.

The participants will discuss ways of improving services and increasing supplies of food and consumer goods.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent a message of greeting to the congress. The message points to the great role played by the consumer cooperatives in restructuring the countryside. The consumer cooperatives engage in trade, purchase, and processing of produce and turn out food.

For the first time the congress is to elect 40 representatives to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Elections to the new legislature will also take place today at the National Musical Society and the Postage Stamp Collectors' Society. Public organizations will elect 30 percent of deputies to the new body of government, or 750 people. Other deputies will be elected at usual constituences on the 26th of this month.

Other Leaders at Congress Noted

LD2003082489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0730 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Today the 12th Congress of USSR Consumer Cooperatives opened in the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow. Taking part in its work are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Biryukova, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov. The congress will summarize the main results of the activity of the USSR's

consumer cooperatives over the past 4 years, will define areas for its further development along the path of radical restructuring and the rebirth of genuinely cooperative, Leninist principles, and will elect people's deputies of the USSR from the consumer cooperatives.

Media Role in Restructuring, Public Debate Viewed

Slanted Debate Questioning Suggested

LD1803202689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2047 GMT 17 Mar 89

[From "View" program presented by Sergey Lomakin and Artem Borovik]

[Excerpts] [Borovik] I want to introduce to you Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, political observer of the NOVOSTI press agency and chairman of the Moscow organization of the Union of Journalists. [passage omitted]

[Lomakin] What do you think, what is the main reason for the fact that the people that have become renowned for their restructuring stands, if you like, people like Sakharov, Noykin, Shelev, Zaslavskaya, and Korotich, have found themselves overboard? What is happening?

[Poltoranin] There are many such people throughout the country. If one takes the people you are talking about, people who have always been talked about a lot throughout the country, they were identified with the very concept of restructuring, and I think that we are dealing primarily with the collapse of hopes. We have had 4 years of promises and few changes—that is a lot—and people have started turning away from the names we have been talking about; they are turning away from restructuring. Second, the all-powerfulness, and the insolence, I would say, of the apparatus continues today as it was before. The apparatus is eliminating the good people long-distance from distant posts, figuratively speaking of course. The apparatus is using all ends and means to ensure that it achieves its results, and it is even using the mass media, unfortunately for us, for journalists. I could cite many such incidents, but I will not go that far.

Recently you probably saw on "Good Evening, Moscow" the television debates in which two candidates debated each other from the Moscow national constituency. One of them was asked soft questions, while the other person received questions that attempted to take him by surprise. Moreover, names and addresses were given as if the whole of Moscow was disposed toward this apparatus [corrects himself] that is, toward this person, who hates the apparatus. When we decided to check whether this really was the case, it did not turn out to be a long, difficult job. [video shows Poltoranin thumbing through a number of small pieces of note paper] We checked all these addresses—they do not appear; they do not appear. These are the lengths that people are prepared to go to in this campaign, if it can be called that.

[Borovik] I want to ask you if you were referring to the mass media. In what is most likely the first time for this, a large number of journalists, well-known journalists and editors in chief are trying to get through; they are being put forward for our parliament. I have a question in connection with this: Can you tell us what can be done to protect our chief editors and the heads of the mass media from this arbitrary rule set by the apparatus? This is because none of those who are actively supporting restructuring, who are moving it forward and trying to extend its boundaries further, none of them are certain what will happen to them tomorrow morning. What can be done to protect them and give them some sort of guarantees?

[Poltoranin] You are talking about a guarantee of protection.

[Borovik] Of course, so that they do not have to depend on the mood of the boss.

[Poltoranin] I think that as long as the state, the country, the oblasts, and the republics are run by people and not laws, it is probably impossible to seriously speak about any kind of guarantees. One can say that the press has either diminished under the pressure, or that it will weaken, and so on and so forth. We have to look for guarantees, of course, in terms of legislation. To do this, when the Congress of People's Deputies assembles, we should force through the issue of the creation of a glasnost commission and other levers. Today it is possible and necessary to seek such ways as the elected appointment of editors, for instance.

[Borovik] Maybe it should be the Supreme Soviet that approves the chief editors for the main publications.

[Poltoranin] As for the chief editors and who will approve them, generally they probably should not be approved. It is necessary to destroy the monopoly on the press and destroy the monopoly on information, so that the union of journalists, for instance, the union of writers, any group would be able....

[Borovik, interrupting] To decide.

[Poltoranin] Yes, and would be able to get their hands on newspapers and publish them, and then arbitrariness of this kind [words indistinct].

[Borovik] There is arbitrariness, particularly in the provincial press. There the oblast, city, and rayon party committees are putting the squeeze on the press, as was recently the case in Alma-Ata with the editor in chief of GORIZONT, I believe.

[Lomakin] GORIZONT, the town's youth newspaper.

[Borovik] There are very many such cases. A lot of letters come in with requests for them to be defended [words indistinct].

[Poltoranin] Today, generally any of us who have worked as editors probably know from our own experience that a normal editor's back is always covered with bruises. There are editors who do not want to fight, and do not want to seek something, and there are of course—and restructuring created them—the kind of editors who are going ahead. Generally the attitude toward the editor is the attitude of public opinion.

[Borovik] Of course.

[Poltoranin] We see that today the attitude of public opinion is at the old, at the prewar, as it were, prerestructuring level. We have to change the attitude of public opinion. We talk about this a lot, but as yet we are doing nothing about it. [passage indistinct]

[Borovik] Excuse me, but this is an important question, from the point of view that all papers and magazines still have to be the organs of certain organizations. For example, MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA is the organ of the Ministry of Health, SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA is the organ of the Soviet Women's Committee, and so on. In my view there is no reason for this, because precisely under conditions in which we have no opposition party—and Mikhail Sergeyevich once discussed this in Vladivostok—the press should probably play the role of this opposition—that is, to criticize....

[Lomakin, interrupting] I would just like to add that there is such an expression that journalists are the guardians of democracy. This expression unfortunately does not yet exist in our country, but I think that we should strive for this all the same.

[Poltoranin] The apparatus in our country wants journalists to be the guardians of the apparatus, and it does not want them to be the real guardians of democracy whatsoever, and it does not want newspapers to not be specific organs but rather organs of public opinion, either. On the whole, I do not understand how we can today have departmental newspapers. I think that the departments themselves should be consigned to the past, as well as the departmental press.

[Borovik] That could only be for the good.

Apology for 'View' Program Aired

LD1803204989

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1924 GMT on 18 March makes the following unscheduled announcement, which was intercepted in progress.

"Yesterday, in the "View" youth program, Mikhail Poltoranin, NOVOSTI observer, accused the chief editorial board of television and radio programs for Moscow of falsifying questions directed at a candidate up for election as a deputy in the Moscow national-territorial constituency during a television debate on 12 March in the "Good Evening, Moscow" program."

"This statement by Poltoranin has offended the dignity of the Muscovites who originated the questions and those people who worked in the editorial office preparing the broadcast, and has misled television viewers."

"Central Television asked the chief editorial board of television and radio programs for Moscow to elucidate on this matter."

Three people who submitted questions for the debate are interviewed. They confirm that the questions were real. The announcer continues:

"It would be hard to add anything to this clarification. Just one thing remains unclear: Why did Comrade Poltoranin have to resort to such means? We will leave that to his conscience."

"Central Television apologizes to the Muscovites who sent in the questions, and also television viewers who were misled, plus the journalists of the Moscow editorial office who were undeservedly wounded by the "View" youth program."

Sociologist Views Reactions to Restructuring

LD1703220489 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, director of the All-Union Centre for the Study of Public Opinion, maintains that two basic approaches to perestroyka have taken shape in the Soviet Union. One of them is radical-democratic, i.e. a striving cardinally to change life in the country, and the other one is liberal-conservative, or a striving only to remove the symptoms of social and economic problems without getting down to their causes.

She spoke at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs before Soviet and foreign journalists today, presenting a picture of perestroyka based on the findings of sociological polls.

The radical-democratic way, Tatyana Zaslavskaya said, rests on a broad social basis. The findings of public opinion polls indicate that 70 per cent of the country's population are active advocates of perestroyka, 15 per cent sympathise with it, 11 per cent watch it, and only four per cent oppose it.

Eighty per cent of respondents believe that perestroyka is proceeding slowly. Approximately three quarters of them judge that by the state of the consumer goods market, and 55 by the stability of prices.

"I think that, from the viewpoint of the provision of the population with food and consumer goods, 1989 will became a turning point," Zaslavskaya remarked.

"One can judge this, proceeding from the decisions of the just-ended plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee aimed at radical changing the agrarian policy and, in the final analysis, at increasing the production of food."

She devoted attention in her speech to the population's attitude to a contemplated prices reform whose purpose is to bring them into line with labour expenditures, which would rule out, in particular, state subsidies for various kinds of products, particularly farm ones, and would eliminate a voluntarist approach to price formation.

Zaslavskaya said that 20 per cent of respondents did not have a definite opinion on the question, another 20 per cent supported such a reform, and 60 per cent objected to effecting it in the belief that it would lead to a marked increase in the prices of a number of consumer goods.

Ordzhonikidze Hijackers Guilty; Sentences Announced

LD1703190389 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The chief of a kidnapper team who have seized a Soviet airliner to Israel but were then deported back to the USSR was sentenced to 15 years in prison on Friday. His property is to be confiscated.

Pavel Yakshiyants and his accomplices, all residents of the northern Caucasian city of Ordzhonikidze, were convicted by the Criminal Cases Panel of the Supreme Court of Russian Federation of banditry and an illegal crossing of the state border.

The gang took a class of Ordzhonikidze children hostage along with their teacher on December 1, 1988, and, threatening violence against them, demanded a large sum of money in hard currency, arms and a plane to fly to Israel, South Africa or Pakistan. Their final choice was Israel.

The bandits' demands were met in accordance with an operation worked out by militia and state security officers to save the children's lives.

Soviet Aeroflot's Ilyushin-76T plane carrying the criminals landed at Tel Aviv on December 2, but Yakshiyants' plan fell through when they were extradited to the Soviet Union on the following day, under an agreement with Moscow.

Vladimir Muralev, Hermann Vishnyakov and Vladimir Anastasov had actively helped Yakshiyants in the felony and were condemned to 14 years behind bars each. Their property is to be confiscated as well.

The fifth defendant, Tofy Dzhafarov, did not take part in kidnapping the children, seizing the plane or illegally crossing the border, but he had been with the gang from the beginning and involved in preparations for the crime. He was sentenced to three years behind bars and the confiscation of property.

As the sentences were read out, Muralev flew into hysterics. It took a ten-minute break to restore him to a state of relative calm.

The judge reading the sentences repeated once again that a forensic psychiatry commission had found all the defendants sane and responsible for their acts.

The sentences entered into effect immediately after being made public.

PRAVDA Reports Sentencing

PM1703193789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[Report by N. Krivomazov: "The End of 'Operation Thunder'"]

[Text] The trial of the people who hijacked an aircraft to Israel ended in Moscow yesterday. It was at the end of February that the RSFSR Supreme Court began to hear the case against the five terrorists from Ordzhonikidze accused of piracy, crossing the border illegally, stealing state property by fraudulent means, and other crimes—it found them guilty.

P. Yashkiyants was sentenced to a total of 15 years in prison with confiscation of property, and V. Muravlev was given 14 years, the first 10 in prison and the remainder in a strict-regime correctional labor colony. G. Vishnyakov and V. Anastasov received 14 years, the first 5 in prison and 9 in a strict-regime correctional labor colony. T. Dzhafarov, who refused at the last moment to participate in the affair, was sentenced to 3 years in a strict-regime correctional labor colony.

It was the final page of "Operation Thunder," which was the name given to the December affair that took place in Ordzhonikidze and involved hijacking an aircraft, taking it abroad, and taking children hostage. The "thunder" never arrived, because many of the people involved displayed courage, fortitude, composure, rigorous logic, and an ability to avoid using firearms. But the instigators of the affair got what they deserved, in full measure. The court's decision is not subject to appeal.

Gorbachev Kiev Speech in Restructuring Publication

LD1603000189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] The Politicheskaya Literatura publishing house has brought out a new collection: Restructuring: The Task of All Peoples in the Country [Perestroyka: Delo

Svekh Narodov Strany]. It includes the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a meeting with working people of Kiev, and other publications about his stay in the Ukraine from 20-24 February this year.

Shcherbitskiy Attends Women's Day Meeting 7 Mar
AU1603191489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[RATAU report on a solemn meeting held in Kiev 7 March on the occasion of International Women's Day: "Honoring the Homeland's Daughters"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On 7 March, a solemn meeting of representatives of Kiev party, administrative, and public organizations was held in the T.G. Shevchenko State Academic Opera and Ballet House in Kiev to commemorate International Women's Day.

The meeting was presided over by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; M.A. Orlik, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; G.I. Revenko, Kiev Gorkom first secretary; front-ranking women workers from enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes; functionaries of party, administrative, trade union, and Komsomol organizations; figures from science, culture, education, and health services; war and labor veterans.

The solemn meeting was opened by G.N. Menzheres, Kiev Gorispolkom deputy chairman. [passage omitted]

The meeting ended with a festive concert.

Ukraine Commemorates Birth of T.G. Shevchenko

Shcherbitskiy on 'Spiritual Heritage'
AU1603150689 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Mar 89 pp 1-3

[RATAU report on a "solemn soiree" held in Kiev on 9 March on the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko, including an opening speech by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary: "The Poet's Word Unites Peoples"]

[Excerpts] Taras Grigoryevich Shevchenko's works, which adorn not only our country's culture, but also universal human culture, are close to and in keeping with our times because of their authentic national traits and humanistic trends. While attentively listening again and again to the word of the Ukrainian Prometheus, who dreamed about peace on earth, about brotherhood and unity among peoples, people in all countries and on all continents have joined the peoples of the Soviet Union in commemorating his jubilee.

A solemn soiree dedicated to the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko was evidence of the great love and respect for the revolutionary poet, painter, and thinker. It was held on 9 March in the Ukrainian SSR Academic Opera and Ballet House, named after the poet. Numerous admirers of the Kobzar's [Ukrainian bard] muse gathered in the festive hall.

The soiree was presided over by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, V.S. Shevchenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; M.A. Orlik, chairman of the republic-level jubilee committee and Ukrainian Council of Ministers deputy chairman; members of the jubilee committee; leaders of the republic's ministries, departments, creative unions and societies; prominent writers and cultural figures; and guests from fraternal republics and a number of foreign countries.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy delivered an opening speech. He said:

Esteemed comrades, dear guests:

It was the sincere and unquenchable love for the great son of the Ukrainian people, one of mankind's most renowned poets and forerunner of a "free, new family," Taras Grigoryevich Shevchenko, that has brought us to this festive hall today.

Particularly pleasing is the fact that we have been joined in the jubilee celebrations by envoys from Moscow, Leningrad, and the country's fraternal republics, by our friends from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, and Yugoslavia, by representatives of UNESCO, as well as by guests from the United States of America and Canada who, far from the land of their ancestors, cherish and respect the Kobzar's name.

Allow me to wish all our guests an enjoyable time while on Ukrainian soil!

Comrades: In the history of civilization, it is difficult to find another man who, having combined the talents of poet, painter, and thinker, would elevate the spiritual level and self-awareness of the entire nation as high as T.G. Shevchenko did.

All Taras Grigoryevich Shevchenko's works, his ideological and artistic convictions were filled with a profound sympathy for the laborer, permeated with faith in the coming liberation, and in the organization of life on the basis of brotherhood, equality, and freedom.

While professing the ideal of human happiness, the poet was forced to write about human sufferings and about social injustice. He was forced to write and to struggle. He consciously took upon himself this heavy burden and bore it with revolutionary dignity and civil courage all his life.

This is a great example. The Kobzar's poetry, like the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, and Mickiewicz, tempered the will of whole generations of revolutionaries. They fed the spirits of those who, under the leadership of the party founded by Lenin, paved the path to a new life for mankind.

But it was the Great October Revolution that really discovered in the Kobzar's works the Promethean fire and authentic humanism for the Soviet people and all mankind. As never before, these works had begun to serve the "renewed land," the culture of a new world, and the endeavors to expand its social and spiritual horizons.

The admirable characteristic feature of T.G. Shevchenko's spiritual heritage lies in the fact that it seems to be deepening and renewing, that it is more and more necessary for people, precisely at sharp turning points of history.

This is also the case now, in times of the restructuring which is unfolding in our country. Shevchenko's word goes to the people, conveys reason and wisdom to them, offers lessons of history and culture.

"Deed" and "work" are ideas that, in all fairness, can be regarded as the most important and remarkable in the poet's life and works. And does the poet's old appeal to "hard working minds" and "hard working hands" not acquire a symbolic, restructuring meaning today? After all, precisely these minds and hands are now expected to "plow the fallows" of restructuring, to "think," to "sow," and "not to wait." And how apt is the Kobzar's warning from his "Diary": "Faith without deeds is dead."

Shevchenko's next lesson is that of internationalism. This lesson is of invaluable significance at present, when the time has come in our country to improve interethnic relations and when the processes of improvement are in progress.

Some people try to make the Kobzar's political and spiritual struggle against all manifestations of social and national oppression conditional only upon the degree of the poet's "national concentration," in other words, upon his exclusively national interests. These attempts are iniquitous.

The greatness of T.G. Shevchenko and of his spiritual heritage rests both on patriotism and on internationalism. One can say that they are two sides of the same medal. Combined with the esthetic convictions and the broad view on progress and the tasks of world culture, precisely the poet's opinions are a powerful weapon in the struggle for a sound international community of people, against any nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

And in our times of restructuring, people approach the Kobzar's will with full understanding and deep gratitude.

The foundation of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society has recently been widely publicized. In the spirit of Shevchenko's internationalism and in the stream of the Leninist nationality policy, society is called upon to contribute toward the developing originality and the growing prestige of the Ukrainian and other national cultures in their constant interaction, when people value what is their own and do not shun what is alien.

And the present artistic intelligentsia should accept and learn the lessons of the great Kobzar's life and works with even greater understanding and willingness. And this is only possible when they closely and directly fathom the present life of the people, and when they actively participate in the people's undertakings.

"To know people, one has to live among them. And to describe people, one has to become a man oneself, and not a squanderer of paper and ink.

"Only then can you write and publish, and your work will be honest." This is what T.G. Shevchenko has bequeathed.

This is why an active civil stance has always been and is a determining ideological and moral factor in the works of every artist who really belongs to the people. This stance should be manifested in the consistent struggle for the ideals of the people, in enriching the people with social optimism and spiritual values which open their souls wider and enhance the ability to make progress.

The party and the people hope that, in times that are decisive for our future, the literary and artistic community of the Ukraine, along will all working people of the Soviet Union, will devote their energies and the strength of their talents to the noble cause of renewing socialist society.

Esteemed guests, comrades: One can say that the entire current year in the Ukraine is the year of Taras Grigoryevich Shechenko.

Today, on the occasion of the poet's birthday, a group of artists has been presented with certificates as bearers of USSR state prizes named after the Kobzar. Allow me to congratulate them sincerely on this high and honorable award!

A republic-level scientific conference dedicated to the life and works of the poet and democrat will be held soon.

Next May, the Ukraine will welcome guests and participants in the traditional all-union Shevchenko literary and art festival, "In a Free, New Family."

Under the sign of T.G. Shevchenko's jubilee, we will hold the all-union "Kiev Spring" festival and the all-union festival of Slavic literature and culture in Kiev.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government will do their best to enable the audiences at these festivals to grasp with their heats and minds the greatness and strength of the Ukrainian people's genius and of his talent, to turn the festivals into an authentic and unforgettable feast of Ukrainian national culture and of the cultures of the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

The Shevchenko days and the Shevchenko year will undoubtedly help strengthen the Leninist friendship of peoples, will help make thorough use of the democratic poet's humanist ideas in consolidating the new political thinking in the international arena, and in promoting cultural relations with the public abroad.

Exactly 175 years ago, a man came into the world who, by virtue of his impassioned verses, was destined to enter the hearts of the millions, and to flare up as a great star on the horizon of world culture. This star will shine for ages!

Allow me to declare the solemn soiree dedicated to the 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Grigoryevich Shevchenko open.

The state anthems of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR were played.

M.A. Orlik, chairman of the republic-level committee for commemorating the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko, introduced guests who had arrived from Moscow, Leningrad, fraternal union republics, and abroad.

A speech on the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko was delivered by Boris Oleynik, secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers Union and bearer of a USSR state prize. [passage omitted]

The soiree ended with a festive concert. [passage omitted]

Leaders at Monument, Exposition

AU1603143589 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 10 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[RATAU report: "To the Great Bard"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On 9 March, the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.H. Shevchenko, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; I.A. Gerasimov, I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, V.S. Shevchenko, Yu.P. Kolomiyets, V.D. Ktyuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; M.A. Orlik, chairman of the republic-level jubilee committee and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; members of the jubilee committee and cultural figures gathered at the monument to the poet. In tribute to the glorious son of the Ukraine, they laid flowers at the pedestal of the monument which perpetuates the poet's image. [passage omitted]

In the state T.H. Shevchenko Museum, reopened after repair and restoration, the republic's Communist Party and government leaders inspected a new exposition which displays nearly 4,000 items recreating the life and the creative exploits of the glorious son of the Ukrainian people. [passage omitted]

Appeal for Unity on Ukrainian Language Published

LD1503190989 Kiev LITERATURNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 2 Mar 89 p 1

[Article entitled: "Appeal to Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR and to all Ukrainians living in Ukraine and Beyond"]

[Text] We, the representatives of the Ukraine's workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, united by common concern for the future of the Ukrainian language as one of the paramount foundations of the Ukrainian nation's originality and spirituality, have gathered in Kiev for the constituent conference and created the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society (Society). The departure from the Leninist nationality policy in the years of Stalinism and Brezhnevism has led to a catastrophic situation when the language of one of the world's most numerous peoples lost its state-operating, unifying, and social functions. The absence of any constitutional defense of the Ukrainian language, the alienation of the state-administrative organs from the people, and a contemptous attitude to the native language have reflected upon the reduction of the intellectual potential of the people and become a factor in aesthetic and ideological confusion. The purity of the language means a clarity of thought, conscience, and life ideals There are theoreticians and ideologists striving to ascribe to the people an indifference to linguistic problems, an ideology of national nihilism, indifference to its own history, and a lack of historical memory. This is not true! Restructuring creates the most favorable conditions

for peoples' spiritual revival, and for granting full rights to its language. The society, governing itself by the documents adopted at the constituent conference, is resolved to foster the revival of the Ukrainian language by its specific deeds, which will be for the good of the renewal of genuine brotherhood among the peoples of our multinational country. What is needed is energy and efforts by the people and by all who display respect for the society and who wish it well. We appeal to all Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians who have linked their lives with the destinies of the Ukrainian people, to support the demand for a constitutional defense of the Ukrainian language, to support the granting of the status of a state language within the Ukrainian SSR, and for its prioritive functioning on the republic's territory. We call upon you to learn the Russian language as a means of communications between the peoples of the USSR. We call upon you to respect and support the cultures and languages of all nationalities living in the Ukraine. Through our activities we shall help them to develop their own cultures and languages, and encourage them to master the language of the Ukrainian people. Esteemed compatriots! Workers and peasants; scientists and culture promoters; party and state figures; teachers and lecturers; servicemen and workers of law-and-order organs; doctors and engineers; believers and preachers; we address you with a call to manifest the understanding of historical responsibility and serve the patriotic cause of our people.

We address the brothers and sisters of our nationality living in other republics, in socialist and capitalist countries, and also in third world countries, with a call to assist and support our endeavors not only morally but by good deeds. We realize that the cultural work of all Ukrainians, regardless of where they live, has to be an integral part of all-Ukrainian culture—an unrepeatable and highly valuable acquisition in the treasure of mankind's spirituality. Dear brothers and sisters! Together we shall demand that the Ukrainian language should sound at home, in the nursery, in school, in the VUZ, at production facilities, in state and party establishments, on radio, in the cinema, and on television. Let us revive both the lofty moral criteria of the feeling of national pride and dignity. Let us revive respect for our ancestors, who nourished and preserved our language over the centuries of social and national oppression. Let us actively foster the success of restructuring in all spheres of life in the Ukraine and the USSR. Let us take an active part in the elections to the supreme organ of state power, who will vote for those who will loyally serve their own people and defend its land, song, and language, and also the songs and languages of the fraternal peoples. Join the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society! Create the society's branches at enterprises, in schools, at the editorials of newspapers, in VUZ's, in scientific and cultural establishments, and in offices. Unfold the explanatory work. Improve your knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Foster in all possible ways its introduction into all walks of social life. Make yourself an example in this respect. Long live the Ukrainian language—a great architect of the people! Long live the Ukrainian language as an equal sister within the all-Soviet and global family!

Ethnic Russians Protest Latvian Language Bill

AU1903203289 Paris AFP in English 2020 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 19 (AFP)—About two thousand ethnic Russians demonstrated in the Latvian capital Riga on Sunday to protest a proposed bill that would boost the use of the Latvian language instead of Russian, a Latvian journalist said.

The journalist, Aleks Grigoriev, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone from Riga that the demonstration was part of a regular series by the unofficial movement Interfront to protest moves to raise Latvian to the status of official language in the Baltic republic.

The language bill has been published in the local press prior to adoption by the Latvian parliament.

Interfront was set up to oppose the broad-based Latvian nationalist Popular Front. Ethnic Latvians make up half of Latvia's population, while Russians represent about 30 per cent.

Lithuanian Government Registers Sajudis Charter

LD1703161689 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Vilnius, March 17 TASS—The Council of Ministers of Lithuania has decided to register the charter of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka (Sajudis). The programme of this informal organisation, set up on June 3rd, 1988 by a group of prominent Lithuanian intellectuals, points out that Sajudis "backs and promotes on democratic and humanistic lines the CPSU-initiated perestroyka".

Speaking of the practical activities of this and other informal associations at a recent plenary meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party CC [Central Committee], expressed concern in connection with extremist sentiments lately observed in Sajudis. He said that further cooperation with the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka depended on its support of the course mapped out at the 19th conference of Soviet Communists.

Views of 14 March Tallinn Meeting Cited

PM1703124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent L. Levitskiy under the rubric "Events: Thrust and Opinion": "Peace for Our Home"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Tallinn—As has already been reported, a meeting of many thousands of representatives of large enterprises of union importance has been held in Tallinn. Our own correspondent reports a few details of the event.

Over 60,000 working people gathered 14 March on the square outside the Tallinn hall. The placards in the columns of plant workers revealed the aim and nature of the meeting. "The energy of restructuring for the cause of socialism," "Equal rights for all Estonian inhabitants," "We are citizens of the USSR...." In the preceding days the mass media had unequivocally and sharply condemned the forthcoming meeting as an event which would disrupt democratization in the republic. But there are also opposite opinions.

B. Moronov, team leader at the "Elektrotekhnika" science and production association and deputy chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"During the discussion of the decree on proclaiming 24 February Independence Day I spoke of how this decision was not adequately prepared. Preliminary work should have been performed in the labor collectives. The Russian-language press should have described the time of the birth of the bourgeois republic, Independence Day, and the history of the tricolor flag—the national flag. There should have been an explanation of why it will replace the state flag on Pikk Hermann tower. I was put right: Questions of national symbolism are questions for the Estonian people. And once again a decision was taken without considering the opinion of the labor collectives of the Russian-speaking population. The workers' associations were astonished by the removal of the state flag. As a sign of protest red flags were hoisted above the buildings and a meeting took place. It elected a strike committee. Following the association's example, strike committees were also elected at other enterprises. Then a general republican strike committee was created. It was this committee which called for a meeting to be held 14 March to consolidate forces for socialist restructuring. The workers simply have no other possibility of expressing their opinion or defending the interests of the Russian-speaking people."

V. Yarovoy, chairman of the united council of labor collectives and director of the "Dvigatel" plant:

"All recent legislative acts have been adopted in the republic counter to the opinion of labor collectives. The lowering of the state flag, the forthcoming law on citizenship and, as the newspaper VECHERNYY TALLINN writes, 200,000-300,000 inhabitants of the republic will be deprived of citizenship—all this served as the spark leading to the explosion of anger. We succeeded in keeping people from strikes and extreme manifestations of dissatisfaction. It is as though the mass media are kindling dissatisfaction specially. Formerly they created the image of the migrant—an illiterate, homeless wanderer. Now they are shaping a similar image of the labor collectives—as the bulwark of the opponents of restructuring. They are making out that the workers' justified anxiety for the future of socialist transformations is an offensive by the forces of the Stalinists and stagnation supporters. In the heated atmosphere the board of the People's Front published a statement which, in our view, insults the Russian-speaking population and labor collectives. They are being deliberately pushed toward confrontation. We did not force ourselves into the square, they forced us. That is the truth...."

V. Khuytt, doctor of philosophical sciences:

"I was upset by the fueling of passions around the forthcoming meeting. I had the impression that if not the end of the world then the end of democracy was approaching with it. There is no one-sided democracy. Any infringement conceals the roots of lawlessness and uncontrollable troubles. The effectiveness of meetings is another matter. I do not greatly believe in that effectiveness. Continuous dialogue between the leaders of the movements of both the Estonian- and the Russian-speaking populations would be far more productive."

V. Malkovskiy, first secretary of the Narva Estonian Communist Party Gorkom:

"Our delegations took part in the labor collectives' meeting. We are convinced that the political processes have acquired an unhealthy orientation. While assessing positively the growth of the Estonian people's national self awareness and their desire to protect their culture and language, we are against the theory of priorities, of rights for the indigenous nationality over the others. These advantages are already being enshrined in legislation. At best the Russian-speaking population is being left with a consultative voice."

Now about the meeting itself. There is no point in recounting the speeches. The thrust of all the speeches, whatever they discussed, was the demand for equality. For equal respect and an equal consideration of interests. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. Tinn summed it up:

"The 900,000-strong Estonian people will not be happy if the 600,000-strong Russian population is unhappy. They will have no confidence in the future unless the Estonians have confidence in it. History and fate have decreed that we must forge our happiness together."

A meeting without emotions is not a meeting. But perhaps just one appeal causes anger. It can neither be accepted nor understood. Yet one of the speakers nonetheless issued it: The appeal that the implementation of the meeting's resolutions be supported by a series of strikes.

The processes of restructuring in Estonia are taking place in an extremely complex manner. The indigenous population interprets restructuring primarily as national-democratic renewal. The Russian-speaking population as a socioeconomic transformation. That is the reality. How to find and establish equilibrium in these processes?

"Peace for our home"—this slogan from the meeting prompts the most reliable path.

Demonstrators Demand Uzbek as Official Language

AU2003091889 Paris AFP in English 0905 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 20 (AFP)—Young Uzbeks took to the streets to demand that their language, Jagatai Turkish, be made the republic's official language, an Uzbekistan Foreign Ministry official said Monday.

The official, Abdou Samat Khaydarov, reached by telephone in Tashkent, capital of the Central Asian republic, did not specify how many people had joined the unauthorized demonstration on Sunday, speaking first of "about a thousand" but subsequently referring to "several hundred."

Uzbek President Mirzaolim Ibrahimov met representatives of the demonstrators, discussing the language issue as well as the republic's economic difficulties and "certain social problems," Mr. Khaydarov said.

No incidents were reported during the peaceful rally.

Demands for new rules to give local languages official status are being pressed in several Soviet republics such as Moldavia, which borders Romania, and Tajikistan, in Central Asia, where demonstrations have been staged in recent weeks. The Baltic republics of Lithuania and Estonia have issued decrees making Lithuanian and Estonian their official languages.

Earthquake Strikes Kirghiz; No Casualties, Damage

LD1903163189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1538 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Frunze, 19 March (TASS)—Yesterday at 2003 Moscow time [1703 GMT], the inhabitants of the capital of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic in Asia, as well as those of towns and villages in the Chu Valley, felt an earthquake of 3 to 4 points in strength. As reported by the Seismology Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, the epicenter of the earthquake was located 5 kilometers south of the town of Tokmak and 55 kilometers southeast of Frunze. At the focus, the strength of the earthquake measured 4 points. There were no casualties or material damage.

Georgia Avalanche Tragedies Reported

PM1503144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

["Emergency Situation" report by correspondenmt G. Lebanidze: "Avalanches"]

[Text] Tbilisi—"The avalanche threat persists in Georgia"... . Weather reports of late have generally ended with these words. Information about the tragedies and destruction they have caused has now started to come in.

The thing is that, in contrast to eastern Georgia, there has been a lot of snow here this winter. It was 4-plus meters deep in Adzharia and other mountain areas. And when the warm, fine spring days arrived and the temperature rose to 20 degrees plus, the mass of snow and the moisture-impregnated soil began to move, crushing everything in its path. Despite the fact that more than 1,100 families were moved out of the danger areas in Khuloyskiy, Shuakhevskiy, and Kedskiy Rayons, tragedies did occur. For example, in the village of Abukedi, in Kedskiy Rayon, an avalanche swept away A. Beridze's home. Seven people were buried beneath snow and debris, including three children. People came to the rescue, but only managed to save two people.

Republic newspapers are reporting new tragedies.

On the night of 7-8 March and around 0500 hours 9 March there was a series of avalanches and mudflows in Zestafonskiy and Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayons. Railroad traffic on the Ordzhonikidze-Marelisi and Zestafoni-Chiatura sections was interrupted. There is still a state of emergency in these rayons.

"The railroad is completely blocked at the 8th and 11th kilometers and at Beglevi Station on the Zestafoni-Chiatura section," Zestafonskiy party raykom First Secretary Dzhemal Gorgodze reported. "Railroad workers are currently carrying out rapid repair work alongside local people."

The villages of Kvaliti, Ilemi, Shrosha, Sanakhshire, Sviri, Mleti, Argveta, and Kveda Sakara were very badly hit. At least 300 homes were damaged, with 25 of them completely destroyed. One person was injured in Shrosha and was taken to the rayon hospital. Agriculture suffered much damage.

"On the Ordhzonikidze-Marelisi section of the railroad," Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon Secretary Omar Sharikadze reported, "a raiload tunnel was hit by an avalanche of snow and mud. A Tbilisi-Poti passenger train was approaching at the time. The two electric locomotives and baggage car behind them were derailed. No passengers were injured."

Trains are now moving again on the section, although nature is again making her presence felt.

In view of the rapid thaw the populace has been warned that the elements could again vent their fury.

Armenian Nuclear Plant Shut Down

LD1803122989 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The second power unit of the Armenian nuclear power plant was stopped on Saturday [18 March] at 13.20, Moscow time, Erik Pozdyshev, head of the main supervisory control department of the Soviet Ministry of Nuclear Power Engineering, has reported. From now on, he said, the Armenian nuclear power plant will disappear from the screens of all the displays of the ministry's supervisory control department.

He recalled that the nuclear power plant had been stopped in accordance with a special resolution of the Soviet Council of Ministers adopted last January largely under the influence of public opinion.

Pozdyshev emphasised that the Armenian nuclear power plant was characterised by high seismic stability. During the December 7 earthquake it functioned without interruptions. Subsequent studies did not find any failures either. The second power unit that was stopped today worked in a regular regime till the last moments. The radiation situation arund the power plant was normal.

According to Pozdyshev, this year's warm winter was favourable for power engineering workers. They managed to save a large amount of energy which would be used to compensate for the electricity that would have been generated by the Armenian power plant.

The power plant will be under observation of specialists for three more years, until nuclear fuel is fully removed from its territory.

Urals MD Interethnic Commission's Work Viewed

PM1603150189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 First Edition p2

[Unnamed own correspondent interview with Major General N. Plyaskin, first deputy chief of the Urals Military District Political Directorate, under the rubric "News: Facts, Events, Commentaries": "Commissions on Interethnic Relations Are Operating Under the Political Directorates of Military Districts, Groups of Forces, and Fleets"—date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] What are the commissions tasked with? What do the initial results of their work show? Our correspondent asked these questions of the chairman of one of these commissions on interethnic relations—Major General N. Plyaskin, first deputy chief of the Urals Military District Political Directorate.

[Plyaskin] Our commission incorporates more than 20 officers—political workers, legal experts, doctors, sociologists, journalists.... The tasks of the commission are revealed by its title: To further unite military collectives, study and eliminate the factors giving rise to unhealthy phenomena, and raise the standard of interethnic relations. In other words, we are helping to create the conditions and moral atmosphere in the units and subunits that will ensure that service is a school of internationalism in practice.

We possibly have come closer to life. Here is just one example: A considerable number of informal youth associations have sprung up in the country. Some of them clearly have nationalist, extremist overtones. It is perfectly understandable that ex-members of these informal associations who take up service in the district require extra attention from commanding officers, political personnel, and our social institutions. With the help of the sociological research group led by Lieutenant Colonel A. Antoshin, the commission has conducted a series of targeted actions, so to speak, to study the subtle, delicate sphere of relations in multiethnic subunits. Not everything is as it should be. Microgroups based on the principle of "clannishness" often arise and sometimes set themselves in opposition to the rest of the collective. Conflicts sometimes occur between servicemen of different nationalities, and elements of national egoism and isolationism have been observed.... This was all keenly discussed during a "roundtable" session in the political directorate, to which we invited many officers from units and subunits.

A lecture group has also been set up under the commission. The aim is to ensure that servicemen form a proper understanding of the sense of national pride and a class approach to the assessment of the historical past, customs, and morals of different peoples. And we are not overlooking the ethnographic training of officers and party and Komsomol activists. On the basis of an agreement, we are receiving a great deal of help in this from the members of scientific establishments in Sverdlovsk and other large cities in the region. For example, we are actively involving scientists from the Urals branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the state university and students and lecturers from the Higher Party School attached to the party obkom in political studies dealing with the problems of interethnic relations.

We are developing and building contacts with many labor collectives and social organizations.

With assistance from the commission, special groups of officers who speak the languages of Soviet peoples have been formed in a number of units. Specific recommendations have been drawn up for commanding officers and political workers in subunits. The compilation of dictionaries and phrase books, which will aid communication between servicemen, is nearing completion.... It is worth noting that ethnic conflicts have already been successfully averted in some subunits.

But these are just the first steps. The commission still has a lot of work to do....

Economic

Draft Management Document Boosts Republics

LD1703194189 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—By TASS analyst Boris Prokhorov:

Discussion of a draft document, setting out the general principles of restructuring management in the economic and social sectors of fifteen constituent republics of the USSR, has been started in the country. However, it would be more correct to speak of a new regional policy, since the draft gives more rights to all local organs.

The draft document envisages numerous changes in the system of managing the country's economy, but their essence boils down to the following: Less centralism in economic and social management, more economic independence for the republics, transfer to their jurisdiction of sectors that require no central management.

The draft envisages, first and foremost, a complete transfer to the constituent republics of the management of education, public health, culture, public services, public utilities, etc.

Furthermore, it envisages the transfer of a considerable part of the industrial potential to their jurisdiction too. The following figures go to show how radical the draft's ideas are. Today, for instance, the share of the production turned out by enterprises, administered by constituent republics, amounts on the average for the country to 5 per cent and does not exceed 10 per cent in any of the republics. If the draft is endorsed, the output of republican enterprises will then account for 42 per cent of the total in the Ukraine, 49 per cent in Belorussia, 50-73 per cent in the republics of the Baltic area, Transcaucasia and Central Asia, and even 75 per cent in Moldavia.

Decentralization of management will not affect, according to the draft, such sectors as the fuel and power complex, metallurgy, machine-building, defence and chemical industry. Integrated nation-wide systems, such as transport, communications and informatics, will remain under federal subordination.

Envisaging the transfer of a large portion of economic managment functions to constituent republics, the draft stipulates also definite preconditions which should be observed in the process. Firstly, in expanding the rights of union republics it is impermissible to restrict the independence of local organs of power—the councils of people's deputies. Secondly, the cost accounting rights of the key production societies—should not be restricted. Thirdly, economic relations among republics and sectors should be developed and strengthened horizontally, their economic interaction should be expanded.

These three preconditions apparently pursue the only goal of streamlining equitable cost-accounting relations within the country, which will benefit everybody.

Foreign Trade Registration Procedures Cited

PM2003095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On the Procedure for the Registration of Participants in Foreign Economic Relations"]

[Text] With the goal of implementing the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Further Development of the Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations" dated 7 December 1988, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Measures for the State Regulation of Foreign Economic Activity" on 7 March 1989.

The prescribed system of state regulation includes the registration of participants in foreign economic relations.

Registration is mandatory for all participants in foreign economic relations wishing to take advantage of the right to direct access to external markets.

Registration is also accomplished to ensure a systematic record of participants in foreign economic relations and their foreign trade operations, to create conditions for making information and consultation services available to them, and to provide information about their specialized business activities to partners abroad and in the USSR.

Registration is prescribed for enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations including consortiums, joint-stock companies, trading houses, associations for business cooperation with foreign countries, other associations, joint enterprises created on USSR territory, and international associations and organizations which, under current legislation, are entitled to engage in foreign economic activity including direct production, scientific and technical relations, coastal and border trade, and commodity-exchange operations.

The general registration provisions also extend to participants in foreign economic relations who have previously been granted the right to independent access to foreign markets.

Registration comprises the submission of a registration card completed according to established procedure, the allocation of a registration number, an entry in the officially published state register, and the issue of a certificate of registration. A registration fee is payable by the participant in foreign economic relations.

Registration is accomplished on the basis of a registration card submitted by the participant in foreign economic relations and completed by him in duplicate

according to established procedure. For the purposes of registration, enterprises and organizations submit a copy of their statute certified by the leadership's signature and duly sealed, while cooperatives submit a notarially certified copy of their statute. All applications should list bank account numbers, their full postal address, and the code numbers of the All-Union Classified Register of Enterprises and Organizations (in order to obtain the code numbers it is necessary to apply to the USSR State Committee for Statistics' republic computer centers according to the applicant's territorial location).

Within 30 days of the date of receipt of duly completed documents, the registering organization enters the participant in foreign economic relations under the appropriate number in the state register and issues a certificate of registration in the established form. The participant in foreign economic relations quotes the registration number on customs freight declarations and on applications for export and import licenses.

Registration is to be accomplished by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and its plenipotentiaries presently operating under the councils of ministers of all-union republics and, in the RSFSR, in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, and in the Far East (in the cities of Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Khabarovsk, and Irkutsk).

To enable the ministry to perform the functions assigned to it, the resolution makes provision for it to have its plenipotentiaries in autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. As an initial step the ministry has decided to establish plenipotentiary offices in major economic regions of the RSFSR situated in the cities of Moscow, Murmansk, Voronezh, Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Rostov-na-Donu, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, and also Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Magadan, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, and Yakutsk.

In order to accomplish the first stage of registration in autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts where there is no plenipotentiary of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, ministry representatives will be sent there. They will also be sent to union republics to assist existing plenipotentiary offices.

Representatives of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations seconded to work at local level will accomplish registration in close cooperation with local ispolkoms and their foreign economic commissions.

As and when they are registered, data on participants in foreign economic relations will be published in the journal VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, the organ of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. The journal will also publish the "Procedure for the Registration of Enterprises, Associations, Production Cooperatives, and Other Public Organizations Engaging in Export and Import Operations," examples of registration cards, and the addresses and telephone numbers of registering organizations and of organizations within the USSR State Committee for Statistics system allocating code numbers of the "All-Union Classified Register of Enterprises and Organizations."

The state regulation of foreign economic activity also includes measures for the flexible regulation of foreign economic relations, whose main elements are licenses (quotas).

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is authorized, in coordination with the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, to introduce for certain periods of time licenses and quotas for the export and import of individual commodities, types of services, countries, or groups of countries whenever this might be necessitated by the state of payments relations and other economic or political conditions. Approval was given to lists of output (works, services) whose export and import in 1989 and 1990 will be accomplished by enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other Soviet organizations on the basis of licenses.

Licenses for specific commodity groups will be issued by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the appropriate USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers.

The central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (in the city of Moscow) will have an information and consultation desk operating around the clock (their telephone number for information is 244-15-33).

Slyunkov Chairs Meeting on Socioeconomic Policy

LD1803190889 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—The guidelines for perfecting pension security in the country were discussed by the CPSU Central Committee's commission on socioeconomic policy at its meeting on Friday [17 March].

The commission stressed the need for enhancing social guarantees for the working people, improving financial position for all categories of pensioners, increasing pensions.

The commission instructed a number of departments to study the propsals to perfect the pension provision system and take them into account in drafting the USSR's new law on pension security of the working people.

In considering the guidelines of the commission's activities in the near future, it was noted that consideration of fundamental questions of radically improving the ecological conditions in the country and rational nature conservancy would be one of the major areas of its work. The commission will systematically analyse the course of

the economic reform, perfection of management of progress in science and technology, establishment of an efficient mechanism for foreign economic activities.

The commission plans to thoroughly analyze processes of financial recovery of the economy, establishment of normal money circulation in the country, restructuring of economic relations in the countryside. The commission reaffirmed special political significance of nationwide discussion of the general principles of restructuring of the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics through expansion of their sovereign rights, self-management and self-financing.

The commission's meeting was chaired by Nikolay Slyunkov, a Politburo member, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Agricultural

Kolkhoz Representatives Meeting Held in Latvia

LD1703191989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] There was a meeting of representatives of the republic's kolkhozes today in Riga. New regulations for kolkhozes in the Latvian SSR and also a statute on the kolkhoz council were discussed and adopted at it. In accordance with the directives of the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, this statute envisages equality of rights of various forms of farming in the countryside, conditions for the more adequate exchange of goods between town and countryside, and the development of the independence of farms and leasers. One of the points is the right to veto in those cases where ministries and departments adopt decisions which run counter to the interests of farms.

Low Toxicity Defoliant Tested in Uzbekistan

LD1703104789 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A new chemical compound created at the Institute of Chemical Physics under the USSR Academy of Sciences will permit to considerably reduce a harmful ecological effect of the use of defoliants on cotton fields.

All the defoliants used today for making leaves drop off before cotton harvesting are highly toxic and produce a strong poisoning effect on people. Until recently from 12 to 24 kg of such defoliants were needed per one hectare of cotton fields, Mikhail Goldfeld, Dr.Sc. (chemistry), told TASS. Now 500 grammes of the new chemical is enough. Its low toxicity, much lower than that of similar chemicals produced in other countries, as well as the use of very small concentrations practically eliminate any threat to the farmers.

Previous defoliants actually poisoned plants. The new compound created by Soviet scientists imitates a natural substance produced by plants themselves that stimulates the leaves to come off. It was successfully tested in the cotton fields of Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian Republic. It was established during the trials that the new compound preserved its characteristics in conditions of a low autumn temperature, Goldfeld said.

Agricultural Developments for 15-18 Mar

LD2003012389

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 15-18 March, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

15 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

16 March

Spring crop sowing has begun in Moldavia. Oats, barley, and peas are being sown in southern areas of the republic, and top-dressing of winter wheat also is taking place. (0304)

17 March

The first 1 million hectares have been sown to early grain crops in the Ukraine. Everywhere top-dressing of winter crops weakened by the winter is in progress. More than 1 million hectares of winter crops are to be resown, mainly in Kharkov, Poltava, and Sumy Oblasts. The seeds for this have been laid in. However, the All-Union Gosagroprom is delaying the decision to use them. (0700)

18 March

Large-scale sowing of early spring cereals has started in the southern and western areas of Belorussia: in Brest, Gomel, and Grodno Oblasts and in some rayons of Minsk Oblast. The work is taking place 1 month earlier than usual. (0304)

Scientific

'Mir' Complex Refuelled, Experiments Conducted

'Progress-40' Docks with 'Mir'

LD1803231389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2250 Gmt 18 Mar 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] The docking of the "Progress-41" cargo craft with the manned "Mir" complex was carried out at 2351 Moscow time [2051 GMT] on 18 March 1989.

Mutual search, approach, the controlled final approach, and docking were carried out with the help of onboard automatic equipment. These processes were controlled

by the mission control center in association with the ground command and measurement complex, and also the cosmonauts Volkov, Krikalev, and Polyakov.

The "Progress-41" craft has been docked to the complex on the side of the "Kvant" module. Fuel for the station's combined engine unit, provisions, water, equipment, apparatus, and also post have been taken into orbit.

According to telemetric information data and reports from the crew the onboard systems of the "Mir" manned complex are working normally.

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov feel well.

'Mir' Experiments Conducted

LD1703233289 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the mission control centre:

A four-day cycle of scientific experiments was started on Thursday [16 March] on board the Mir orbital complex in accordance with (?the) international roetgen project. Their purpose is the mapping of the central part of our galaxy in the roentgen range.

Cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov conducted a number of experiments on studying the dynamics of the level of ionizing space radiation in the compartments of the orbital complex and along its route depending on the geophysical situation. They continued the measurement of flows of the elementary charged high-energy particles with the help of the maria magnetic spectrometre.

The efficiency of people's work in outer space is determined to a considerable extent by the quality of their rest and sleep. Valeriy Polyakov conducted an experiment in the course of which the quality of sleep was evaluated through electrophysiological characteristics registered with the help of the son-k instrument created by Bulgarian specialists. On Friday [17 March] he will undergo a check-up of the cardio-vascular system during physical exercises on a cycling ergometer.

The working programme included astrophysical and geophysical experiments, as well as medical control for evaluating the state of health and forecasting the cosmonauts' capacity for work in conditions of long weightlessness.

The flight of the Mir orbital complex is going on normally.

'Biological Sputnik' To Be Launched This Year

LD1703103289 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—One more biological Sputnik, scheduled to be launched in the first half of this year, is a logical continuation of the Soviet medico-biological research programme.

The space vehicle will be "inhabited" by several representatives of the world's fauna—protozoa, fishes, rats and monkeys. Scientists believe that monkeys, due to the similarity of their organisms with those of human beings, are most suitable for research in cosmic conditions.

"The programmes, carried out on Soviet biological Sputniks", a TASS correspondent was told at the Institute of Medico-Biological Problems of the USSR Ministry of Health, "are samples of broad international cooperation in the peaceful uses and exploration of the near-earth space". Thus, taking part in scientific research by means of the latest Soviet biological Sputnik, launched in 1987, were some 50 scientific institutions of socialist countries, as well as research centres of the United States and France, scientists of the European Space Agency.

Non-Explosive Nuclear Reactor Being Developed

OW1703233189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Soviet scholars are developing a nuclear reactor that will not explode. Feoktistov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has proposed the use of a double fuel, uranium, plus a little plutonium. If an accident occurs, the plutonium will burn out in a few seconds and the reaction will stop. The main advantage of this proposal is that safety measures can be taken automatically.

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